Early Greek Poets' Lives

THE SHAPING OF THE TRADITION

MAARIT KIVILO

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The Shaping of the Tradition

By

Maarit Kivilo

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ABBREVIATIONS

BMCR	Bryn Mawr Classical Review: http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/.
CAH^{1}	The Cambridge Ancient History (First edition). Ed. by J.B. Bury, S.A. Cook, *et al.* Cambridge, 1923–1954
CAH^{2}	The Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd edition. Ed. by J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, *et al.* Cambridge, 1970–
CEG	*Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*. Vol. I: *Saeculorum VIII–V a.Chr.n*. Ed. by P.A. Hansen. Berlin, 1983
CGF	*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kaibel. Berlin, 1899
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh. Berlin, 1828–1877
DGRBM	Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, ed. by William Smith. London, 1869–1870
DGRG	A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, ed. by William Smith. London, 2006 (1872^{1})
EM	*Etymologicum magnum genuinum. Symeonis etymologicum una cum Magna grammatica, vol. i, ii. Ediderunt Franciscus Lasserre, Nicolaus Livadaras*. Rome, 1976
FGE	Further Greek Epigrams, ed. by D.L. Page. Cambridge, 1981
GL	*Grammatici Latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii*. Leipzig, 1857–1880
HE	The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigams, edited by A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page. Cambridge, 1965
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1873–.
L	the catalogue of legendary responses to oracles in Fontenrose, J.E. The Delphic oracle, its responses and operations, with a catalogue of responses. Berkeley, 1978
LSJ	A Greek-English Lexicon. Compiled by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie and with the cooperation of many scholars. With a revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
MSG	*Musici scriptores Graeci. Recognovit, prooemiis et indice instruxit Carolus Janus; Supplementum Melodiarum reliquiae*. Leipzig, 1899
OCD 2nd ed.	The Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd edition. Ed. by N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard. Oxford, 1970
OCD 3rd ed.	Oxford Classical Dictionary, third revised edition, ed. by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford, 2003
PLG^{4}	*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. Th. Bergk. *Pars* I: *Pindari carmina*, Leipzig 1878. *Pars* II: *Poetae Elegiaci et Iambographi*, Leipzig 1914. *Pars* III: *Poetae Melici*, Leipzig, 1915

PMG	*Poetae Melici Graeci*, ed. D.L. Page. Oxford, 1962
PMGF	*Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, ed. M. Davies. Oxford, 1991
POxy	The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Ed. by B.P. Grenfell, A. Hunt, *et al.* London, 1898–
PW	the catalogue of oracles in Parke, H.W. and Wormell, D.E.W. The Delphic Oracle, Vol. 1 and 2. Oxford, 1956
Q	the catalogue of quasi-historical responses to oracles in Fontenrose, J.E. The Delphic oracle, its responses and operations, with a catalogue of responses. Berkeley, 1978
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung, herausg. von G. Wissowa. Stuttgart, 1839–1852
SLG	*Supplementum Lyricis Graecis. Poetarum lyricorum Graecorum fragmenta quae recens innotuerunt* ed. D. Page. Oxford, 1974
SOL	Suda On Line: Byzantine Lexicography, in http://www.stoa.org/sol/
SVF	*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* coll. Ioannes ab Arnim. Vol. I: *Zeno et Zenonis discipuli*, Leipzig 1938. Vol. II: *Chrysippi fragmenta. Logica et Physica*. Leipzig, 1923

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This book examines the formation and development of the biographical traditions about archaic Greek poets. It seeks to clarify:

1. who were the creators of the particular traditions;
2. what were the sources of the traditions;
3. when the traditions were formed;
4. to what extent the traditions are shaped by formulaic themes and story-patterns.

Secondly, this study compares the traditions about poets with those about other famous people, such as seers, sages, tyrants and heroes, in order to identify the similarities and differences in conventions according to which the different traditions are formed. It challenges several mainstream assumptions on the subject, for example, that the traditions were formed mainly in the Post-Classical period; that the only significant source for the legends about the poets is the works of the particular poet and the traditions are therefore historically entirely or substantially unreliable; and that the poets were perceived as "new heroes."

The prevalent view is that the development of ancient biography was brought about by the rise of Greek antiquarianism and historiography, and reached its full form as a continuous account of the character and actions of an individual (the βίος) in the Hellenistic and Roman era, where we find the works of Chamaeleon, Phaenias, Neanthes, short sketches of ancient authors to introduce the Alexandrian editions, the *Lives* by Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and others.[1] The earlier biographical writings which concentrated on one or another aspect of the author's life rather than giving a learned continuous account are regarded as the predecessors of the Hellenistic βίος. The beginnings of that kind of "pre-biographies" have been traced back to the early Peripatetics (Leo), the Socratic circle (Dihle), the late-fifth century authors such as Xenophon

[1] Literary biography as a Hellenistic and Roman genre: Stuart 1928:9, Dihle 1956:7, 1997:140, Lefkowitz 1981:98, Momigliano 1971:12, 28. About the definition of the "biography" see Momigliano 1971:11–12, 23–28, Dihle 1956:11.

and Isocrates (Stuart), and Herodotus (Homeyer).[2] In addition there are numerous short "biographical statements" such as eulogies, funeral orations, genealogies, references in comedies, collections of maxims, legends and anecdotes in the works of the authors of the Classical period and onwards. These statements are believed to have been created to serve various functions such as reinforcing a point an author was making, as a means of claiming superiority over an authority, to represent a poet as a heroic figure and promote his authority, or simply to entertain the audience and satisfy its curiosity by telling a fascinating story about a famous person.[3] The biographical material, scattered in the works of ancient authors, is often cast into a traditional form, using conventional ancient *topoi* and stereotypical patterns which are freely transferable from one person's tradition to another.[4]

The question which has interested students of ancient biography the most, is the relationship between historical truth and pure fiction in biographies. For a long time the readers of the *Lives* regarded them as true historical accounts about a person's life. Even the more miraculous stories, such as Arion's escape with the help of dolphins, for example, were given credibility in the belief that even the implausible accounts may contain a grain of truth wrapped in allegory.[5] At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth century, however, a number of more sceptical treatises on structure and development of Graeco-Roman biography were published and the readers were warned not to take any information in the *Lives* at face value. The authors of the treatises maintained that the biographies of poets were compiled centuries after their death using old anecdotes, legends, and fictional accounts created on the basis of often misunderstood hints in the authors' works, and

---

[2] Leo 1901:85 ff. (although Momigliano agrees with Leo,—for other reasons,—that Peripatetic Aristoxenus was the first direct predecessor of Alexandrian biography, he believes him to be the only member of the early Peripatos to be concerned with biographical writing, see 1971:73–76), Dihle 1956:13–34, Momigliano 1971:46 f., Stuart 1928:31–32, Homeyer 1962:81 and *passim*. About Aristotle and biography see Huxley 1974.

[3] About the sources of biography see Fairweather 1974, Momigliano 1971:23–33, Dihle 1956:10. About the reasons to invent stories about the poets and other famous people, see West 1967:442 f., Graziosi 2002:40, 59, 147–150, 195, and Lefkowitz 1978 and 1981:ix and *passim*.

[4] Fairweather 1974 and 1984, and Lefkowitz 1981:93–97 (on Euripides' *Life*).

[5] See, for example, Welcker's (1832:392–400) and Müller's (1924:369 n. 3) rationalizing interpretations of the Arion story. For the overviews of modern opinions on biographies see Stuart 1931:285–294, Homeyer 1962:75, Dihle 1997:119–121, Momigliano 1971:8–22, Fairweather 1974:231.

therefore the biographies are fictions with hardly any reliable material rather than historical documents.[6]

Consequently, the legends about the poets and details in their *Lives* were treated much more critically and scholars turned instead to the poems, which were regarded as more or less autobiographical, as the primary source for information. This approach was supported by the then current chronological doctrine of the development of ancient literature, according to which the non-personal genre of epic poetry was followed in the era of "awakening personality" (approximately in the seventh century BC) by personal lyric poetry created by individuals who opposed themselves to old customs and forms of poetry.[7] A lyric poet was seen as "no longer the vessel of the Muses, the recorder of other men's deeds and thoughts, /- - -/, [h]e is now participant, and, to a greater or lesser degree, speaks for himself."[8] Since the *Lives* of the poets are to a great extent built around the works of a poet, and as the poems were believed to contain autobiographical statements, biographies too were generally believed—despite the warnings of Lehrs, Leo and others—to contain a quantity of reliable information about the poets.[9]

Only in the middle of the twentieth century a new approach emerged, and scholars gradually began to admit that total veracity might not to be expected from archaic Greek poetry. K.J. Dover expressed his scepticism about a cultural evolution of individual self-awareness as a necessary and sufficient explanation of the difference between the epic and lyric genres, and claimed that this difference can be accounted for in terms of literary genre: on the one hand a highly specialized, conventional epic song, on the other hand personal lyric poetry, both of which may have coexisted throughout the entire prehistory of Greek literature. According to

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[6] Lehrs 1875, Leo 1901:108 ("Die griechische Historiographie hat niemals Geschichte und Biographie verwechselt"), Meyer 1924:66 ("Aber eine eigentlich historische Tätigkeit ist [Biographie] nicht.")

[7] Snell 1953:42 ("Among the Greeks /- - -/ the genres flourished in chronological succession. When the strains of the epic subsided, the lyric took its place, and when the lyric was about to expire, drama came into its own.") See also Jaeger 1954^4:115, Burckhardt 1900:iii.164 ff., Bowra 1960^2:48, Fränkel 1975:133.

[8] Kirkwood 1974:20–21. Also Snell (*op. cit.*:43): "Perhaps the most striking difference between the two genres (i.e. epic and lyric poetry—MK) /- - -/ is the emergence of the poets as individuals. /- - -/ [The lyrists] speak about themselves and become recognizable as personalities."

[9] See, for example, the entries on archaic poets in RE, Schmid-Stählin 1929 *passim*, Jaeger 1954^4:115–135, Campbell 1967 *passim*, and overviews of the modern opinions on particular poets in the chapters below. There are still those who prefer to follow this idea, e.g. Schmidt 2005 *passim*.

this approach, the "I" of Greek lyric cannot always be taken to be the autobiographical poet: the song may express feelings which are not necessarily those of the composer/performer, but may belong, for example, to a conventional stock-character or entirely fictional poetic figure. The subject matter of the songs, composed in small societies, would still be intelligible for the audience even when there are not enough explicit signals in the text: the community in which the poet composed a song knew its context. The situation would change only with the spread of literacy when the poetry is read also by people who do not know the background of the poet and his songs and may regard the "I" in the poems as autobiographical and, consequently, would use the poet's first person statements as testimonies of his life. In the light of this view, the biography which was mainly formed around the "unreliably personal" poetry cannot be trusted in every detail as historical document.[10] This approach has been taken to its extreme by Mary Lefkowitz who claims that the biographical "data" we have about archaic poets was generated almost entirely from their (non-autobiographical) verses and the accounts of their life were invented a long time after their lifetime, in order to create, owing to the expectations of the audiences, an image of a poet as a "new hero" who is remote from ordinary men, acknowledged in some way by divinities, and serving the commonwealth with their words.[11] Lefkowitz's radical approach on the complete lack of historically true information within the biographies has not been wholly accepted and the current general view is that the biographies, built on poets' own verses and several additional sources, are a mixture of fact and fiction and should be read with a critical mind and balanced judgement.[12]

As is mentioned above, many of the "biographical statements" scattered in the sources are very old. Some of them, such as the criticism of Archilochus, Hesiod and Homer, the account of the latter's Chian origin and the anecdote of his defeat in solving the riddle of lice come from late-sixth century sources; the accounts of Sappho's brother's love

[10] Dover 1963:196–212, Kurke 2000:59–62, 69–71, West 1974:22–39, also Bruns 1896:48. About the biographical "I" see also Lefkowitz 1963, Rösler 1976:304 ff., Bowie 1993:35–37, Slings 1990, *et al.*

[11] Lefkowitz 1976:181 f., 1978:460 and 1981:vii–x. Lefkowitz suggests that the practice of developing biography from poetry may have originated with the Peripatetic grammarian Chamaeleon (1975:177 with n. 12). About Chamaeleon see also Momigliano 1971:70 and his fragments on poets in Wehrli 1957:52–63, 75–88.

[12] See especially Fairweather 1974 and 1984, but also Podlecki 1984, Kirkwood 1974, Dihle 1994:36–56, Pelling 2002:143–170, Compton 2006:324 f., and the entries on archaic poets in OCD 3rd ed., in *Der Kleine Pauly*, in Brill's *Neue Pauly* and in other handbooks.

affair in Egypt, Terpander's inventions, Hesiod's long life and his death, Archilochus' date, etc. are known from the works of early-fifth century authors.[13] This period is about the earliest time we can expect any literary account to have been written down by a Greek author.

It is hard to believe that the pre-Classical Greek audiences were not interested in the life and deeds of the famous figures of the past, including old poets, and that the accounts of their lives were invented only starting from the fifth century and later, centuries after the poets' death. I suggest that the biographical statements and anecdotes about early poets in the Classical authors' works are the remnants of large and well-developed ancient biographical tradition which began to form simultaneously with the performance of the poetry soon after the poet's death or even in their lifetime.[14] Some details were recorded in local documents such as inscriptions and lists of winners at poetic contests, for example, but mainly the tradition was developed and passed on orally. Fragments of it became eventually written down in authors' works in different contexts and according to different purposes, including those mentioned above. The biographical traditions were continuously developed further, were embellished and scrutinized by later authors and came to form the basis for the Hellenistic literary *Lives*.

To try the assumption of the generic development of biographical tradition, I present a detailed study of the traditions of six early Greek poets, Hesiod, Stesichorus, Archilochus, Hipponax, Terpander and Sappho. I have chosen poets of the Archaic period whose (possibly) early biographical traditions had time to develop according to traditional conventions in an oral environment.[15] In the case of each poet I shall try to establish

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[13] Xenoph. 21 A 1, B 11, 12 DK, cf. Arist. fr. 75 R ap. Diog. L. 2.46, Heracl. 22 A 22, 42 DK, Anaxim. 72 F 30, cf. Simon. *eleg.* 8 Campbell (if the verses belong to Semonides of Amorgus, see Campbell 2001:510 n. 1, cf. Simon. in [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* ii, *Vita Hom.* v), Heracl. 22 B 56 DK, cf. also Xenoph. ap. Gell. *NA* 3.11 (the relative date of Hesiod and Homer), Theag. Rheg. 8 A 1–4 DK (a book on Homer), Cleisthenes in Hdt. 5.67 and Callin. in Paus. 9.9.5 (about Homer's works). The early fifth century examples: Hdt. 2.134–135, 1.12, Pi. fr. 124d, 125 Sn.-M. and ap. Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας.

[14] I use the term "biographical tradition" as denoting the sum of scattered pieces of information about the poets' lives in all extant sources. This includes anecdotes, legends, chronographical material and references in the works of ancient authors. The "biography" (Life, βίος, *Vita*) marks the continuous literary account of an individual, a genre developed in the Hellenistic period.

[15] I have not included a detailed study of Homer's biographical tradition in this book since his exceptionally rich biographical tradition would not leave any room for other poets. I have, however, given an outline of the development of his tradition elsewhere, see my *The early biographical tradition of Homer* (2010). There is also a good overview of the

the chronological development and the sources of the tradition, as well as the shapers of it and the conventions according to which the tradition was formed. My primary aim is not to determine the historical veracity of the details in the traditions, although clarifying the process of development of biographical traditions may help to estimate their reliability as a source for historically true information about the poets.

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accounts of Homer's early biographical tradition in Barbara Graziosi's *Inventing Homer* (2002). She concentrates mainly on one strand in Homer's biographical tradition i.e. the development of "universal" and authoritative Homer as the author of only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. See also the reviews by Kahane 2004:20–22, Halliwell 2003:102 f., Ford 2003:10.

CHAPTER TWO

HESIOD

1. *The tradition*

The various accounts about Hesiod provide the following summary of his life. Hesiod of Ascra was the son of a Cymean man called Dios, who had been forced to leave his home town either as a result of poverty, or because he had killed a man. Hesiod's family was of an important origin, and their genealogies include Poseidon and Apollo, Atlas, Calliope, a Cymean *oikistes* Chariphemus, and poets-musicians Orpheus, Linus, Melanopus and Homer. Hesiod was initiated into poetry by the Heliconian Muses. He composed the *Works and Days* as an admonition and guide to a righteous life for his brother Perses with whom he had a quarrel over their father's inheritance. Tradition says that Homer and Hesiod were cousins and opponents at a song contest which Hesiod won. He was awarded a tripod which he dedicated in gratitude to the Muses of Helicon. He is reported to have taken part in other song contests as well, such as the contest in hymns for Apollo in Delos. In Delphi Hesiod received an oracle predicting his death in the grove of Nemean Zeus. Avoiding therefore Nemea in the Peloponnese, to which he supposed the oracle to refer, he went to Oenoe in West Locris which, unknown to him, was also sacred to Nemean Zeus. Soon afterwards the poet, suspected by his hosts of having seduced their sister, was murdered and his body was cast into the sea. When it was brought back to the shore by dolphins, the murderers were punished and Hesiod was buried in the grove of the temple of Zeus. After many years had passed when plague broke out in Orchomenus, the Orchomenians, following the advice of the Pythia, brought his remains to their city as a remedy to overcome the disease. According to tradition, Hesiod and the seduced girl had a son, the poet Stesichorus.

2. *Origin and family of Hesiod*

Hesiod says in the *Works and Days* that his father had moved to Ascra from Cyme (lines 630–640). He also says that he himself had never sailed the sea before he went to take part in a song contest at Chalcis on Euboea (650–657). On the basis of these lines, some authors drew a conclusion that Hesiod was born after his parents had settled in Ascra.[1] Others believed that he was born in Cyme, and his parents took him to Ascra when he was still a small child.[2] However, the birthplace of Hesiod seems not to have been an object of discussion of any considerable importance for ancient authors.

The belief that Hesiod's father's name was Dios is probably based on the *Works*, in which the poet refers to his brother as "Πέρσῃ, δῖον γένος ..." (line 299). Although this is not a grammatically correct patronymic, Hellanicus, Damastes, Pherecydes, Ephorus, the compiler of the *Certamen* and the Suda did not hesitate to include Dios in their genealogies of the poet.[3] Other sources which mention Dios as Hesiod's father are an inscription found on a stele at the site of the temple of the Muses in Thespiae, a papyrus from the third or fourth century, and the *Vita Hesiodi*.[4] Since there is no other name for Hesiod's father known in the tradition, it seems that Dios was generally accepted in antiquity. Ephorus claimed, as mentioned already above, that Hesiod's father did not leave his home town Cyme because of poverty as it stands in *Op*. 635–638, but because

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[1] Eph. 70 F 1, 100, see also Hermesianax 7.21 Powell, and *Vita Hesiodi* 1.
Vita Hesiodi is a treatise in two extant versions. The shorter version is ascribed to Proclus who, relying heavily on earlier scholarship, compiled the scholia on Hesiod's *Opera*. The other, longer but in its contents very similar to Proclus' treatise, is by Tzetzes. See Gaisford 1823:3–22, Westermann 1964^2:viii, Allen 1912:220, Rzach in RE s.v. *Hesiodos*, Wilamowitz 1929:47. Both versions are published by Thomas Gaisford in his edition of Hesiod (1823:3–22). In this work I have followed, if not stated otherwise, the numeration of Westermann's edition of the *Vita Hesiodi* (1964^2) as probably the most accessible unabridged text.

[2] Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. There are names such as Chariphemus and Melanopus in different genealogies of Hesiod which are connected with Cyme,—see below, p. 12.

[3] Hell. 4 F 5b, Dam. 5 F 11, Pherec. 3 F 167 (ap. Procl. *Chrest.* p. 99f. Allen); Eph. 70 F 1, *Cert.* 4, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. West believes that δῖον γένος is a formulaic expression, and, not being a grammatically correct form, it could not have denoted the name of the father (1978:323.) It seems, however, that the Greeks (Hellanicus and others) were not too concerned about this lapse of grammar.

[4] IG 7.4240c: Ἡσίοδος Δίου Μούσας Ἑλικῶνά τε ϑεῖον / καλ(λ)ίστοις ὕμνοις ...; POxy 3537 *recto* 15, *Vita Hesiodi* 1.

he had killed a kinsman.[5] Ephorus may have gained this piece of information from a local Cymean history, or perhaps derived it from *Op*. 637, where Hesiod uses the word φεύγων (... κακὴν πενίην) in the description of his father's decision to move from Cyme to Ascra.[6] The detail of blood-guilt is a frequent motif in biographical traditions as we shall see later.

The poet says nothing about his mother. Afterwards it was exclusively thought that her name was Pycimede, and in one source she is the daughter of Apollo.[7] According to Ephorus who is the first known author to mention her, Hesiod's father married Pycimede only after he had moved to Ascra, and therefore she must have been an Ascraean; in the *Vita Hesiodi* she is a Cymean. This is all we know about Hesiod's mother. We do not know from where the ancient commentators drew the information about her. However, Pycimede ("cautious-minded," "shrewd," "wise") is certainly an appropriate name for the mother of a famous didactic poet.

The extant ancient explanations of Hesiod's own name are scarce and late. Proclus claims "Hesiod" to be derived from ἧσις (= ἡ εὐφροσύνη) and εἴδω (< λέγω), obtaining therefore something like "He who speaks delightful things" or "He who speaks delightfully" as the meaning of the name.[8] The *Etymologicum Magnum* provides a derivation from ἥσω (< ἵημι) and ὁδός which suggests a meaning "I will set a road/way" implying perhaps Hesiod's important position as a poet and teacher; or "I will set to a road" or simply "The one who travels."[9] Another entry in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, shared by the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, explains "Hesiod" as an Aeolic name with a meaning "He who walks on an auspicious road" (ὁ τὴν αἰσίαν ὁδὸν πορευόμενος), or "He who walks

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[5] Eph. 70 F 100, see also 70 F 1. West proposes that the tradition that Hesiod's father was a Cymean and had to leave his home town may be linked to another tradition, according to which Homer laid a curse on the Cymeans that no poet of importance should be born in the city. See [Hdt.] *Vita Hom*. 15, West 2003a:371 n. 21.

With the exeption of the *Certamen*, the biographies of Homer, edited by West (2003a), Allen (1912), Wilamowitz (1916) and Westermann (1845), are referred to according to Allen's edition in this work. In the case of the *Certamen*, West's enumeration by chapters is used (if not stated otherwise). About the editions of the *Certamen*, see p. 19 n. 48.

[6] If Ephorus' statement has any true historical background, it would explain why Hesiod's father left the comparatively rich coast of Asia Minor and came to "miserable Ascra" as poet describes it. Ascra, by the way, may not have been such a miserable place at all—see Snodgrass 1985:93.

[7] Eph. 70 F 1, *Cert*. 4, POxy 3537 recto 15, *Vita Hesiodi* 1, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.

[8] Procl. schol. Hes. *Op*. 1. The name is spelt also as aeolic Αἰσίοδος (Herodian. ii.1.521.7 (362.26) Lentz) and Εἰσίοδος (IG 7.1785).

[9] *Etym. Magnum* p. 438.24. See also Göttling 1843:xxii–xxiii, Evelyn-White 1995:xiv.

auspiciously" (ὅτι αἰσίως ἐβάδισε).[10] However, the discussion about the etymology of Hesiod's name seems to have started late. In the archaic and classical periods the name "Hesiod" seems to have been treated as a proper name with no particularly significant meaning. This view is shared also by most modern commentators.[11]

In the *Works and Days* the poet describes his brother Perses as an idle man and a spendthrift. He is reported to have swindled Hesiod out of the larger share of their father's inheritance by bribing the corrupt lords of Thespiae, but after a while he had wasted his patrimony and ultimately came to want. When he came to his brother for help, Hesiod, instead of giving him money, tried to teach him how to live righteously and diligently instead of intriguing against other people, and composed the *Works* which contains his teachings and is dedicated to Perses.[12] Most ancient sources regard Perses as a real person, a historical Listener to the admonitions of Hesiod.[13] Modern commentators point out that the character and behaviour of Perses vary according to the rhetorical point Hesiod is making and, whether Perses ever existed or not, in the *Works* he functions as a conventional device used by the poet to strengthen his arguments.[14] In any case, the veracity of the tradition about the existence and the nature of Perses was not an issue of debate in ancient times, at least not on a large scale.

In *Op.* 271 Hesiod mentions a son but it is ambiguous whether he is simply uttering a rhetorical wish or is really speaking of his own son.[15] However, the existence of this reference may well be the basis of, or at least a significant support for the development of the tradition about Hes-

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[10] *Etym. Magnum* p. 438.20 = *Etym. Gud.* p. 249.49 Sturz.

[11] For example West 1966:161 and 87, Evelyn-White 1995:xiv. Modern attempts to explain the name have led to the forms "He who takes pleasure in the journey" (*hēsi-* < *hēdomai* + *hodos*) and "He who sends forth song" (*hēsi-* < *hiēmi* + *odos*), see Hoffmann 1893:420–421, Solmsen 1901:81, Schulze 1892:17 n. 3, 507, Frisk s.v. *Hesiodos*, Most 2006:xiv–xv.

[12] Perses is mentioned in *Op.* 27, 213, 274, 186, 287, 299, 611, 633, and 641. The story of the quarrel is in *Op.* 27–41.

[13] There are two exceptions in antiquity: Proleg. in *Op.* B 13–16, p. 3 Pertusi: πρόσωπον ἀναπλάσας καὶ παραλαβὼν ⟨τὸ⟩ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πέρσου, εἴτε κατ' ἀλήθειαν, εἴτε κατὰ τὸ εὐπρόσωπον καὶ ἁρμόζον τῇ ὑποθέσει, ὡς ἂν μὴ δυσπρόσωπον εἴη καὶ ἵνα δόξῃ ἐξ ἔριδος τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐληλυθέναι·, and schol. Hes. *Op.* 27a Pertusi: τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πέρσην ἤτοι ἱστορικῶς ἐκληπτέον ἢ πλασματικῶς καὶ ὑποθετικῶς διὰ τὸ εὐπρόσωπον τοῦ λόγου.

[14] Griffith 1983:57 f., West 1978:33–40, see also Lefkowitz 1981:1.

[15] *Op.* 270–272: νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος / εἴην μήτ' ἐμὸς υἱός· ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον / ἔμμεναι, εἰ μείζω γε δίκην ἀδικώτερος ἕξει.

iod's son. His name was thought to have been either Mnaseas, Archiepes, Stesichorus, or Terpander.[16] The latter two names have probably entered Hesiod's tradition out of a simple wish to link the great poets together. The account of Stesichorus' origin is closely connected with the story of Hesiod's death.[17] Both poets are also connected with Locris: Hesiod was said to have died in Ozolean Locris, Stesichorus was linked to the Epizephyrean Locrians. It is very likely that the Locrians helped to develop and transmit the legend of Steschorus being the son of Hesiod.[18] The name of the woman by whom Stesichorus was born to Hesiod was, according to different versions of tradition either Clymene, Ctemene or Ctimene, or Archiepe.[19]

Although Hesiod gives advice about what kind of woman is the best to marry, he does not give any hint about his own wife.[20] Nor was there any established tradition in antiquity about her. The only source about her is an elegy by Hermesianax, in which is said that the poet moved to Ascra and wooed a girl called Ehoie for his bride,—a name which is obviously derived from the parallel title of the *Catalogue of Women*, a poem ascribed to Hesiod by many ancient authors.

The Suda is the only source to provide us with information about Hesiod's male lover (ὁ ἐρώμενος): he was supposedly called Batrachus ("Frog"). Batrachus must have been believed to have died young since Hesiod was said to have composed a dirge for him.[21]

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[16] Terpander: Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος, for more see p. 136. Mnaseas and Stesichorus: Procl. on Hes. *Op*. 271a Pertusi (= Philoch. 328 F 213 Jacoby): ἱστέον δὲ ὅτι υἱὸς Ἡσιόδου Μνασέας ἐστί· Φιλόχορος δὲ Στησίχορόν φησι τὸν ἀπὸ Κλυμένης· ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρχιέπην (Ἀρχιέπης—Jac.); schol. on Hes. *Op*. 271b Pertusi: υἱὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ Μνασέας ἢ Ἀρχιέπης· Φιλόχορος δὲ Στησίχορον; schol. Tz. *ad loc*.: τίς παῖς Ἡσιόδου· παῖδα οἱ μὲν Μνασέα, οἱ δὲ Ἀρχιέπην, ἕτεροι δὲ Στησίχορον τὸν μελῳδὸν ἐξεδέξαντο, see also Arist. 565 R., *Vita Hesiodi* 3, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. There was also a tradition that Stesichorus was the son of Hesiod's daughter, see Cicero who does not agree with this opinion on chronographical grounds (*De rep*. 2.20).

[17] Pindar in *Vita Hesiodi* 4 and the Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας, Thuc. 3.96.1, also Arist. fr. 565 R.

[18] About the story of Hesiod's death, see p. 25; about Stesichorus' connections with the Locrians, p. 66.

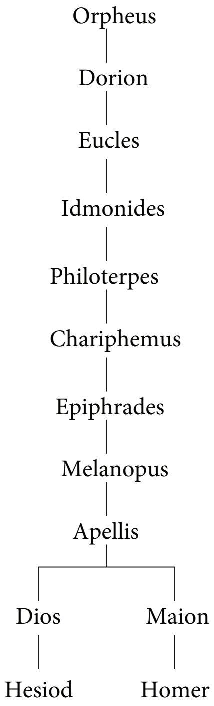
[19] Clymene: Philoch. 328 F 213, ap. schol. Hes. *Op*. 271a Pertusi. Ctimene/Ctemene: Arist. fr. 565 R. ap. *Vita Hesiodi* 3, 4. The MS readings are κτιμένη, κτημένη and κεκτημένης, see Allen 1912:224. Archiepe: schol. Procl. Hes. *Op*. 271a (*cit. opp*. in n. 16), if ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀρχιέπην (or Ἀρχιέπης) is understood as a reference to a woman's name (as, for example, in Most 2006:172–173). For more about the girl and the circumstances of her affair with Hesiod, see p. 25f.

[20] *Op*. 695–705, see also 373–375.

[21] Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.

3. *Genealogies of Hesiod*

The first extant genealogy of Hesiod is from the beginning of the Classical period, and reflects the opinions of the chronographers Hellanicus, Damastes and Pherecydes.[22] The genealogy is the following:



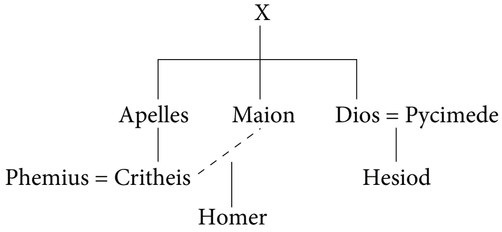
This genealogy has a strong Cymean flavour. Melanopus was a Cymean poet whom Pausanias placed between a mythical poet Olen of Lycia and the magician Aristeas of Proconnesus.[23] According to [Herodotus] Melanopus was a Magnesian man, son of Ithagenes the son of Crethon, who came to Cyme when the town was being founded. He then married the daughter of Omyres and had a daughter Cretheis, the future mother of Homer.[24] Apellis/Apelles, Maion and Dios were, according to tradition the brothers of Cymean origin, and Chariphemus was believed to have

[22] Hell. 4 F 5b, Dam. 5 F 11, Pherec. 3 F 167, in Procl. *Chrest.* p. 99 f. Allen. Hellanicus is reported to have repeated the information that Hesiod was a descendant of Orpheus also in his *Phoronis* (4 F 5a, ap. Procl. schol. Hes. *Op.* 631, p. 361 Gaisf.).

[23] Paus. 5.7.8, see also Suda s.vv. Ἀριστέας and Ὠλήν., and DGRBM s.v. *Melanopus*.

[24] [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 1 (see p. 15 n. 34).

been the founder of the city.[25] Hesiod's Cymean origin is supported by Ephorus who himself was a Cymean: from his works we have the following short genealogy in which Hesiod's parents are Dios and Pycimede, and Homer, the illegitimate son of Maion, is his cousin:[26]



It has been argued that the link Hesiod—Homer—Cyme was actually created by Ephorus in his desire to promote his home town[27] but as we have seen, this connection, based on Hesiod's own poetry, was firmly established already in the works of early fifth century chronographers such as Hellanicus. The obvious Cymean background of the genealogy suits equally both Homer and Hesiod. It may refer to the possibility that the family tree was originally compiled for Homer, whose biographical tradition is centred in Asia Minor and strongly connected to Cyme.[28] The link between Hesiod's genealogy and Cyme is probably derived through the reference to the Cymean origin of the poet's father in the *Works*.

According to Gellius, Ephorus said that Homer was younger than Hesiod.[29] On the other hand, Syncellus maintained that Ephorus believed the poets to be cousins and contemporaries.[30] It is probable that both authors received their information from the genealogy above, in which Homer is actually Hesiod's younger contemporary.

Certamen (ch. 4) provides us with the following lineage:

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[25] Eph. 70 F 1, 99, *Vita Romana* 2.

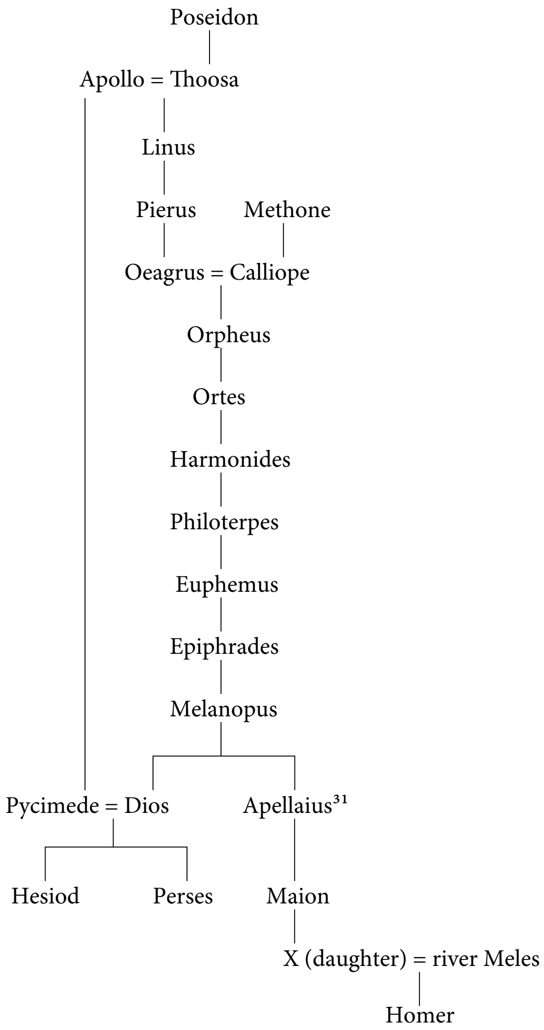
[26] Eph. 70 F 1, 101a.

[27] Göttling 1843:xii.

[28] In addition to Eph. 70 F 1 also [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 1–2, Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος 2, Hippias (6 F 13) in *Vita Romana* 2, "the historians" in *Vita Hom.* 5.1. The longest account of Homer and Cyme (in [Hdt.] *Vita Homeri* 12–14) however follows a different tradition which does not know that Homer was a descendant of the Cymeans.

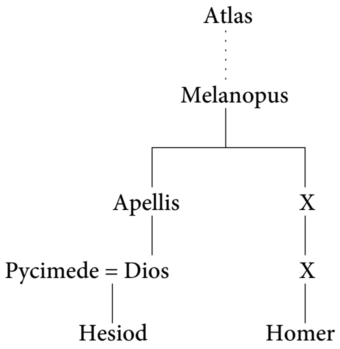
[29] Eph. 70 F 101a ap. Gell. *NA* 3.11.2.

[30] Eph. 70 F 101b ap. Sync. p. 326 Bonn.

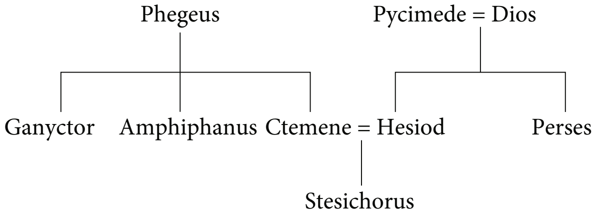


[31] πέϱσου cod. (as in Westermann and Allen); Ἀππελλαίου Sittl., followed by Evelyn-White and West, Ἀπελλοῦ Nietzsche, followed by Wilamowitz.

According to the Suda, both Homer and Hesiod were remote descendants of Atlas, and great-grandsons of Melanopus:[32]



Vita Hesiodi gives the parents of Hesiod, his son, and the family of his son's mother:[33]



Finally, Charax provides a genealogy of Homer which has been obviously drawn from the same source as Hesiod's genealogies:[34]

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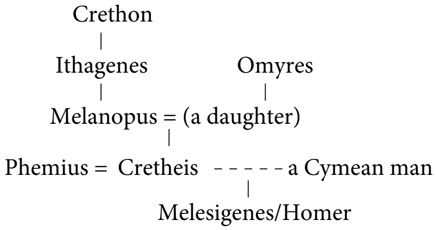
[32] Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.

[33] *Vita Hesiodi* 3, 4.

[34] Charax in the Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος. There is another genealogy of Homer in [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 1:



X = Aithousa
Linus
Pierus
Oeagrus
Orpheus
Dres
Eucles
Idmonides
Philoterpes
Euphemus
Epiphrades

Melanopus	Mnesigenes
Apelles	Euepos

Metius/Maion = Eumetis
Homer

As is seen, Hesiod's genealogies contain deities such as Olympic gods Poseidon and Apollo, a Titan Atlas, and the nymphs Calliope and Methione. He is also linked with musicians and poets such as Orpheus, Linus, Melanopus and, of course, with Homer.[35] The derivation of Hesiod's origin from deities and famous poets probably comes from the wish to give him an authoritive origin, and also from the quite common formulaic attempt to link important poets to each other by genealogies and chronology in tradition.[36] On the other hand, Orpheus at the head of

[35] Cf. the traditon that Hesiod was the father of Terpander (p. 136).
[36] For example, Homer was also said to be the offspring of Musaeus in the 10th

the lineage points to the possibility that the tradition of Hesiod may have been formed and/or transmitted by people who were interested in legends about Orpheus, i.e. by the Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans.[37]

The lineage of Hesiod (and Homer) was clearly well established by the first part of the fifth century, when Hellanicus gave a detailed overview of the origin of both poets. Hellanicus must have used Cymean local history while compiling the genealogy. In addition he might have used some work(s) of the sixth century Orphic poet(s) as a source. All the later genealogies have relied on the one by Hellanicus or his source.

4. *Hesiod's life*

The picture of Hesiod's life-style which emerges from tradition, is firmly based on his own poetry. In the *Works and Days* and *Theogony* he describes himself as a righteous and industrious man of humble origin, who does not approve the unjust ways of princes. He is a hardworking man, a shepherd and perhaps a farmer who despite his temporary poverty, caused by the unhappy quarrel with his brother, became well-off thanks to his diligence, so that he could give valuable advice to people in matters of how to become rich and lead a happy life.[38] Hesiod also informs us that he did not like to travel by ship, and that he took part in song contests.[39]

This image of Hesiod was never questioned by ancient authors. He was regarded as an excellent poet interested in the life of simple people, and a wise man who, however, had failed to win the favour of kings because of his boorishness and reluctance to travel.[40]

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generation (cf. Damastes in *Vita Hom.* vi), both Homer and Hesiod were linked to Sappho, Alcaeus and Stesichorus by chronology (Suda s.v. Σαπφώ), Homer and Hesiod were connected not only genealogically and chronologically (cf. for example, Hdt. 2.53 and Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a), but also by a story (they competed at a song-contest, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a, 674f–675a, *Cert.* 6–13, [Hes.] fr. 357 MW).

[37] About the links between Hesiod's tradition and the Orphic poets, see below, p. 54.

[38] *Op.* 214–247 and 274–292 (righteousness); 37–41, 248–264 (does not get well along with princes); 298–320 (praise of work); 37–39, 633–640 (poverty); 383–617, 765–828 (advice to farmers); *Th.* 22–35 (a shepherd).

[39] *Op.* 650 ff.

[40] Dio Chrys. Or. 2.8–9, Paus. 1.2.3. About Hesiod's wisdom see also Pi. ap. Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας, Hdt. 2.53, Isocr. *Contra Nicocl.* 43; Pl. *Protag.* 316d, *Symp.* 209d, etc;

In the *Theogony* Hesiod relates how he encountered the Muses while tending his sheep on Helicon and how they initiated him into poetry by giving him a staff of laurel and breathing a divine voice into him.[41]

Some new details were introduced in the story in later tradition. Licinius Archias the poet of the first century BC, whilst agreeing with Hesiod's own account that he was provided with a branch of holy laurel, adds that the Muses gave Hesiod also a drink of soul-inspiring water of the fountain Hippocrene in order to teach him poetry.[42] Virgil claims that the Muses gave Hesiod a reed-pipe, an event which Virgil's commentator Servius linked directly with Hesiod's initiation in poetry.[43] According to the *Vita Hesiodi*, a tradition existed that while Hesiod was herding sheep on Helicon, some women (the Muses) came and fed him with twigs of laurel and in this way gave him wisdom and the art of poetry.[44] It is interesting to note, however, that while in the case of several other poets and seers the skill is often gained as a compensation for the loss of something (Homer and Teiresias lost their sight, Archilochus lost a cow), Hesiod seems to have received the gift of song simply because the Muses chose to give it to him.[45] Perhaps the difference is caused by the fact that in the case of Hesiod the poet gave his own authoritative report of his initiation on which the subsequent versions were based.

Mnasalcas in *Anth. Pal.* 7.54; Eratosth. ap. Str. 1.2.14 (23) (but cf. Apollod. 244 F 157); Plut. *Mor.* 402e; Iambl. *VP* 164.

41 *Th.* 22–35, cf. also *Op.* 658 f. where the Muses who had set him in "the way of clear song" are mentioned.

42 Archias in *Anth. Pal.* 9.64. Hippocrene, "Horse Fountain," was believed to have been made when Bellerophon's Pegasus struck the ground with his hoof (Paus. 9.31.3, cf. 2.31.9 about the spring of Hippocrene in Troizen). According to POxy 3537 *recto* 13–14, Hesiod drank from the spring Aganippe for inspiration.

43 Verg. *Eclog.* 6.70 f., Serv. *ad loc.*

44 *Vita Hesiodi* 1. The compiler of the treatise tries to rationalize the story and explains that the would-be poet only dozed off and dreamt about the women and the laurel-twigs. When he woke up he realized that his true vocation was to become a poet, and so he left the sheep and began to compose epics, see *Vita Hesiodi* 1. Cf. also Flaminius Vacca (16th century AD): *eventus ... qui in Hesiodo refertur ... cunas infantis, quibus ferebatur, apes circumvolarunt osque insedere complures, aut dulcem iam tum spiritum eius haurientes aut facundum et qualem nunc existimamus, futurum significantes* (*Vita Lucani*, p. 403.21–26 Badalì).

45 Homer: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 80–100; Teiresias: Pherec. ap. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7, Callim. *Lav. Pall.* 57–133, [Hes.] fr. 275 MW, Archilochus: Mnesiepes' Inscription (SEG 15.517) A col.ii. Demodocus too lost his sight in exchange for the gift of poetry (*Od.* 8.62 f.), and there is also a contrary story of Thamyris who lost his ability to sing as a punishment (*Il.* 2.594–600, schol. ad Hom. *Il. ad loc.*, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.3). See also Stesichorus' and Hipponax' initiation stories in pp. 84 and 125.

Hesiod mentions that he took part in the song contest at the funeral games of the Chalcidean warrior Amphidamas in Euboea. He won the contest and was awarded a tripod which he dedicated to the Muses of Helicon.[46] In the canonical text of the *Works* Hesiod does not say with whom he had competed in Chalcis. Proclus, however, reports a different reading of *Op.* 657, in which the opponent is Homer, just as it is always stated in tradition.[47]

The story of the contest in its full version is known from the *Certamen*, a treatise from the end of the first or the beginning of the second century AD.[48] There are, however, several other references to the story in other sources, which differ in details from the *Certamen*. For example, contrary to the *Certamen*, in the version reported by Plutarch, the poet who proposes the questions is Homer and the one who replies is Hesiod.[49] Secondly, besides Chalcis, the contest has been located in Aulis and in Delos by different sources. The account of Aulis, mentioned in *Cert.* 5 may well be an expansion upon the Chalcis-version in which Chalcis, the traditional place of the Euboean king's funeral games, has (accidentally) been replaced by the name of the neighbouring town across the strait. Or perhaps it was originally meant that the poets met in Aulis by chance and went together over to Chalcis.[50] Delos, the third location for the contest is, as is argued below, unlikely to be the result of a casual mistake and is rather a variation from the dominant story.[51]

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[46] *Op.* 650–662.

[47] Procl. schol. Hes. *Op.* 655, p. 368 Gaisf.: ἄλλοι γράφουσιν· ὕμνῳ νικήσαντ' ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὅμηρον, cf. the OCT Hesiod's edition (line 657): ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα. West (1978:321) regards the scholium-reading as "foolishly" derived from the last line of the epigram on the tripod (*cit.* on p. 36 n. 139 below) which Hesiod had dedicated to the Muses after his victory. We cannot know, however, whether this highly formulaic reading in Proclus' scholium was derived from the epigram or from the tradition of the contest between the two poets in general.

[48] *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, published by Westermann 1845 (1964^{2}), Rzach 1902, Wilamowitz 1929, Allen 1912, Evelyn-White 1995 (1914^{1}), West 2003a. *Cert.* ch. 3 refers to Hadrian, by which the *terminus post quem* of the treatise is determined. In this work, if not stated differently, the passages of the *Certamen* are referred to according to the enumeration in West 2003a.

[49] Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a. According to West, Plutarch, taking his own objective into consideration, might have changed the parts of the contestants (1967:439), but cf. Momigliano 1971:26f. See also O'Sullivan 1992:80 and below in this section.

[50] Cf. *Cert.* 6: καὶ οὗτοι οὖν ἐκ τύχης, ὥς φασι, συμβαλόντες ἀλλήλοις ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Χαλκίδα, and Hes. *Op.* 650f. and 654f.: οὐ γάρ πώ ποτε νηΐ γ' ἐπέπλων εὐρέα πόντον, / εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὔβοιαν ἐξ Αὐλίδος, / ... / ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος / Χαλκίδα τ' εἲς ἐπέρησα.

[51] Schol. Pi. *Nem.* 2.1 (= [Hesiod] fr. 357 M–W): Φιλόχορος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ συντιθέναι

Although the extant *Certamen* in its present form is a fairly late compilation, it includes material from a much earlier period. The main part of the story in its present form, the description of the actual contest, and the passages which relate the oracles to Homer and Hesiod and the death of the two poets, is based on the *Museum* of Alcidamas.[52] It has been suggested that Alcidamas, relying on old stories and the traditional form of contest by riddles,[53] and using appropriate lines from the works of earlier authors (*Cert.* chapter 7 contains verses almost identical with Theognis fr. 425, and chapter 9 verses very similar to Aristophanes *Peace* 1282 f.),[54] was the first who attributed these to those particular two poets, and thus invented the story of the contest of Homer and Hesiod. Relying on the passage from the *Works* he chose Chalcis for the setting of the story.[55]

Richardson has argued that a more likely date for the story of the contest is the sixth century. He points out that the story of the death of Homer was known to Heraclitus (22 B 56 DK) and the account of Hesiod's death to Thucydides (3.96) less than a century later. The stories of the ability of the wise men in solving the riddles and oracles, as well as the idea of a rhapsodic contest in σοφία as an alternative to athletic contest, were current already in the sixth century. Richardson adds that *Certamen* and Aristophanes' *Peace* not only share similar lines but also similar themes:

καὶ ῥάπτειν τὴν ᾠδὴν οὕτω φησὶν αὐτοὺς προσκεκλῆσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἡσίοδος λέγων·

> ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοὶ
> μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥαψαντες ἀοιδήν
> Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.

More about the contest at Delos see p. 21 below.

[52] Stobaeus (4.52.2) quotes lines found in *Cert.* 7 and attributes them to the *Mouseion*. In *Cert.* 14 Alcidamas is mentioned at the end of the passage about the death of Hesiod. In addition to this reference, there is a papyrus from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century AD, which tells about the death of Homer and contains the following words: Ἀλκι]δαμαντος περι Ὁμηρου (Pap. Mich. 2754, see Winter 1925: 120–129). Commentators agree that the signature refers to Alcidamas (see Kirk 1950:150 n. 1, Nietzsche 1870:536–540, Winter 1925:120–125, Dodds 1952:187 f., West 1967:433–438, Graziosi 2001:59).

[53] For example, the contest of Calchas and Mopsus in the *Melampodia* (Hes. fr. 278 MW); one between the epic writers Lesches and Arctinus (Phaenias 299 F 18), and also the contest of Aeschylus and Euripides in the *Frogs* by Aristophanes.

[54] The thought shared by *Cert.* and Theognis, that it is best for mortals not to be born at all, or if born, to die as soon as possible, is expressed also in Bacch. 5.160–162 and Soph. *OC* 1225. The passage in the *Peace* 1282 f. may just as well be based on the *Certamen* rather than vice versa, see Graziosi 2001:66.

[55] Nietzsche 1870:528–540; West 1967:434–449.

rejection of war poetry and praise of feasting, both of which fit well into the general context of the sympotic poetry of the sixth century.[56] Graziosi generally agrees with Richardson, though she finds that the contest section in the *Certamen* may be composed by the Athenian rhapsodes in the fifth century who attempted to restore Homer's reputation against sophistic attacks. Graziosi emphasizes that many passages in the *Certamen* seem to respond to fifth-century concerns: for example Thucydides had discussed the number of the Achaeans at Troy (1.10.4 ff.)—a question to which the answer is given in *Cert.* 10. Lines 113 f. and 117 f. in the *Cert.* (Allen's edition), in turn, could be connected with the discussions on the stylistic issues of Homeric poetry by Protagoras and Democritus respectively.[57] The Athenian colouring of the story may, however, be simply an indication that it was transmitted via fifth-century Athens. The Athenian features in the extant account do not necessarily rule out the possible existence of earlier versions of the story.

It should also be mentioned that the suggestion of the authorship of Alcidamas is opposed by the existence of the version of the story in which the contest is placed at Delos.[58] This particular version is very unlikely to have come into existence after the appearance of the one told by Alcidamas, since after the supposed invention of the story of the contest in Chalcis which was supported by Hesiod's own verses, any other place would hardly have been chosen as the setting of the story.[59] Richardson is of the opinion that there is no reason to place the particular verses in the period after Alcidamas.[60] Janko agrees with Richardson and suggests that they were composed in the second part of the 6th century when Polycrates of Samos organized the Delian ἀγῶνες in 523 or 522, for which occasion the *Hymn to Delian Apollo* may have been compiled from two earlier hymns.[61] If Janko is correct, the version of the contest in Delos would clearly belong to the 6th century.[62] Furthermore, it must be

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56 Richardson 1981:1–3.

57 Graziosi 2001:67 f. Protag. 80 A 28 DK, Democr. 68 B 22 DK.

58 See Philoch. in schol. Pi. *N.* 2.1, *cit.* in p. 19 n. 51.

59 *Pace* West who considers the Delos-verses to be a later imitation of Hesiod, which Alcidamas did not know about (1967:440).

60 Richardson 1981:3.

61 Janko 1982:99–115 with notes. The dates for Polycrates' arrangement of the Delian Games: 523 BC in Parke 1946:105–108, and 522 BC in Burkert 1979:59.

62 As in the oral tradition several (sometimes even contradictory) versions of a story may exist at the same time, the versions of the contest in Chalcis, inspired by Hesiod's verses, may have come into existence at any time after the composition of the *Works and Days*.

taken into account that the assumption of synchronicity of Homer and Hesiod had existed long before Alcidamas. It is true that Xenophanes, the earliest known author who told about the temporal relation between the two poets, believed Homer to have been older than Hesiod, but in the fifth century the poets were generally considered as contemporaries.[63] Even the fragment by Xenophanes does not exclude the possibility of their being contemporaries, as Homer could have been regarded simply as an older contemporary of Hesiod. In Ephorus' genealogy Homer is Hesiod's cousin and therefore his younger contemporary.[64] The only story known to us, which could serve as a source of the synchronicity of the poets is the one about their contest. In the oral tradition which almost certainly was the ultimate source in the present case, the supposed "fact" of the contemporaneous living of Homer and Hesiod, whether historically authentic or not,[65] must have been transmitted in connection with some story which tied the poets together, since in oral tradition details are transmitted within stories rather than independently. And in fact, there are several cases when the ancients explicitly connected the view that the poets were contemporaries with the story of their contest.[66] Hence, it is probable that the idea of the synchronicity of Homer and Hesiod was based on and/or transmitted with the account of their contest.

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[63] Xenoph. 21 B 13 DK, see also Hdt 2.53, and the genealogy by Hellanicus, Damastes and Pherecydes (n. 3 in p. 8).

[64] Eph. 70 F 1.

[65] We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the poets were real-life contemporaries and the knowledge of it was preserved in some local memory (in connection to some cult, perhaps). Or, possibly, the synchronicity may be based on the different reading of *Op.* 657 (see p. 19 n. 47).

[66] *Cert.* 5.; Philostratus *Her.* 18.2: οἱ δὲ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γεγονέναι μετὰ Τροίαν ἐπὶ Ὅμηρον τέ φασι καὶ Ἡσίοδον, ὅτε δὴ ᾆσαι ἄμφω ἐν Χαλκίδι …; Gell. *NA* 3.11.3: *autem Varro in primo de imaginibus uter prior sit natus parum constare dicit, sed non esse dubium quin aliquo tempore eodem vixerint, idque ex epigrammate ostendi quod in tripode scriptum est qui in monte Helicone ab Hesiodo positus traditur*; *Vita Hesiodi* 2: οἱ δὲ συγχρονους αὐτοὺς εἶναι λέγοντες ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Ἀμφιδάμαντος τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐβοίας φασὶν αὐτοὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ νενικηκέναι Ἡσίοδον… It seems that there was also a discussion going on among the Homerids about this tradition: Eustath. 4.38: εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤρισεν Ὅμηρος Ἡσιόδῳ τῷ Ἀσκραίῳ καὶ ἡττήθη, ὅπερ ὄκνος τοῖς Ὁμηρίδαις καὶ λέγειν. Perhaps the Homerids denied that the poets had lived at the same time? On the other hand, as the defeat of Homer by Hesiod put the teacher of the Homerids into the shadow, they might have just refused to accept the story (thus West 1967:441).

The history of the story of the contest may reach an even earlier time than Graziosi and Richardson have suggested. In Plutarch's account of the contest the seventh century epic poet Lesches is mentioned, possibly as Plutarch's source of the story.[67] Two different views exist concerning the occurrence of the name of Lesches in Plutarch's passage: either Lesches was the one who told about the contest between Homer and Hesiod; or Lesches himself competed with Hesiod. It depends on whether to read the text ὥς φησί Λέσχης (as Lesches says) as it appears in one of the manuscripts, or ὥς φασι, Λέσχης (Lesches, as they say) as in most manuscripts.[68] In the latter case, however, it would be necessary to change Plutarch's text and remove the passage presenting the contestants (Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου), the validity of which has clearly been assured elsewhere by Plutarch.[69] Moreover, we have no other ancient account about the contest between Lesches and Hesiod. Kirk suggests that there were three contestants—Homer, Hesiod and Lesches, but we have no reference about any contests of singers with three or more contestants competing at the same time.[70] It seems therefore preferable to read ὥς φησί Λέσχης and admit that Plutarch knew, or at least thought that Lesches had spoken about the contest between the two famous epic poets (at the funeral games in Chalcis).[71] In that case it is

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[67] Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a. Lesches of Pyrrha or Mytilene was regarded as the author of the *Little Iliad*: *Vas Homericum* MB 27 and 31 (both 3rd or 2nd century BC), IG 14.1284.i.10 (*Tabula Iliaca* A *Capitolina* p. 29 Sadurska), Eus. *Chron.* Ol.30.3, Procl. *Chrest.* B p. 106 Allen, schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 155, Tz. in Lycophr. 1268, cf. Tz. *Ex. Il.* p. 45.10 Hermann. Pausanias who calls him Lescheos son of Aischylinus, ascribes to him the *Sack of Troy*—perhaps mistakenly (see West 2003b:135 n. 44; also Bernabé (1987:79) gives Pausanias' information among the *Testimonia* of the *Little Iliad*). Lesches was placed in the seventh century and reported to have won the song contest with Arctinus (Phaenias fr. 33 Wehrli (299 F 18) ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131.6, Eus. *Chron.* Ol.30.3).

[68] For more about the manuscripts see Kirk 1950:150 n. 1. Bergk (1883:66) read ὥς φησί Λέσχης, cf. Allen 1912:136, 218; 1924:25 f.; Welcker 1865:251; Nietzsche 1870:533. They considered Lesches the author quoted by Plutarch. Wilamowitz (1920:405 n. 2), followed by Most (2006:186), accepts the reading ὥς φασι, Λέσχης and makes him contest with Hesiod. West (1967:440) proposes that the name Lesches has entered the text from somebody's casual note in the margin of the page.

[69] Plut. *Mor.* 675a.

[70] Kirk 1950:150 n. 1.

[71] Plutarch may, of course, have been wrong about Lesches, as he may not neccesarily have quoted first hand and there could be false inference behind his reference,—thus Robert Fowler at the viva. Milne suggests that Lesches' name was substituted for Homer's in the Hellenistic period or later because of the chronological problem of making Homer and Hesiod contemporaries (1924:57 f.). But as is said above, the inclusion of Lesches' name in the text would require inappropriate emendation of Plutarch's text with respect

possible that the contest was described or at least mentioned in some of the archaic poems ascribed to Lesches.[72] In the late sixth century Theagenes of Rhegium, to whom the first attempt to record information about Homer's life is ascribed in extant sources, may have referred to the contest, relying perhaps on a different reading of *Op*. 657, on Lesches' account, or possibly even on some other early, now lost, version.[73] Later the story of the contest of Homer and Hesiod was developed further and elaborated for example by the Athenian rhapsodes in the fifth century, by Alcidamas in the fourth century, and by the author of the existing version of the *Certamen* in the first or second century AD.

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to the names of Homer and Hesiod. Richardson proposes that Plutarch's account may reflect an early version of the story, known at least to Aristophanes whose *Frogs* may be influenced by this version of the contest (1981:2).

[72] This idea was first proposed by Thomas Allen, who suggested that Lesches had in addition to the *Little Iliad* composed a biographical poem about the life of Homer, and it was used as a source by Alcidamas as well as by Plutarch while relating the contest of the poets (Allen 1924:26). West considers the existence of a biographical poem written by Lesches quite improbable and proposes that the name of Lesches could have entered the text of Plutarch from the scholium where verses by Lesches similar to the ones found in the text were mentioned: "'Biographical' poetry did not exist" (1967:438–440). We may, however, have a trace of an archaic biographical poem here. The contest between two most powerful ancient bards would make an attractive topic for a song, a topic which would certainly be fascinating both to the singer and to the audience. It would also help to enhance the authority of the profession of rhapsodes. Admittedly, there is no extant reference to a work titled *Contest* among the poems ascribed to Lesches. It may be that Lesches sang about the contest in the form of an excursus or simile in some of his other poems and thus established the story which was expanded later. He might have only referred to the contest of the two famous poets by saying, for example, that Hesiod's opponent was "a blind poet of Chios" whom the audience assumed to be Homer.

[73] Theagenes 8 A 1–4 DK. The alternative reading of *Op*. 657 is cited in p. 19 n. 47. The Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans were involved in studying and editing the poetry of Homer in the late archaic period. For example, the Orphic poets Orpheus of Croton and Zopyrus of Heraclea participated together with Onomacritus of Athens in the redaction of Homeric poetry (Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς). In the latter part of the sixth century Orphism and Pythagoreanism spread into Italy, probably bringing along their interest in both the person and the poetry of Homer. As I shall argue below, the Orphic poets and Pythagoreans in South Italy may have had a considerable role in the development of both Hesiod's and Stesichorus' biographies (Brontinus of Metapontum or Croton, Cercops the Pythagorean, and the above-mentioned Zopyrus of Heraclea are attested in Hesiod's tradition, Stesichorus' tradition is full of allusions to the Pythagoreans). It seems that South Italy became a centre (or one of the centres) of studies on Homer and Hesiod in the end of the archaic period. Theagenes of Rhegium, while writing on Homer (and perhaps also on Hesiod) may well have exchanged information with the Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans in South Italy.

5. *The story of Hesiod's death*

The earliest sources to refer to the story of Hesiod's death belong to the fifth century BC: Pindar mentions the tradition that the poet was young twice and had two graves, and Thucydides gives a short account that Hesiod was murdered by the local men in the precinct of Nemean Zeus, after it had been predicted to him that he should perish at Nemea.[74] More detailed accounts are known from Alcidamas, Aristotle, Eratosthenes, Plutarch, Pausanias, and the *Vita Hesiodi*.[75] The story is in general clear and consistent: after the contest Hesiod travelled to Delphi where the Pythia uttered an oracle forewarning him of danger of death in the grove of Nemean Zeus:

ὄλβιος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύει,
Ἡσίοδος Μούσῃσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτῃσιν·
τοῦ δ' ἤτοι κλέος ἔσται, ὅσην τ' ἐπικίδναται ἠώς.
ἀλλὰ Διὸς πεφύλαξο Νεμείου κάλλιμον ἄλσος·
κεῖθι δέ τοι θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.[76]

Fortunate is a man who serves my house, Hesiod, who is honoured by the immortal Muses; surely his fame shall reach as far as the light of dawn spreads. But beware of the fair grove of Nemean Zeus—for there the death's end is destined for you.

Hesiod avoided Nemea in the Peloponnese, thinking that the god meant Nemea there. Instead he went to Oenoe in Locris, unaware that all that region was called the sacred place of Nemean Zeus. He stayed in Oenoe for some time, until he was caught or suspected of having an affair with the daughter of his host. The brothers of the girl killed him near the temple of Zeus, and threw his body into the sea. On the third day it was brought ashore by dolphins, was recognized by local people and buried. The fleeing murderers were killed after being betrayed by the barking of Hesiod's dog. The girl gave birth to a son (Stesichorus). Later the Orchomenians vexed by plague were advised by an oracle to obtain Hesiod's remains, which were transferred to Orchomenus and buried there for the second time.

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74 Pindar in the *Vita Hesiodi* 4 and in the Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας, Thuc. 3.96.1.
75 Arist. fr. 565 R., Alcid. and Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14; Plut. *Mor.* 162d–f, 969e, 984d; Paus. 9.38.2–4, 9.31.6, *Vita Hesiodi* 4.
76 Alcid. in *Cert.* 13, *Vita Hesiodi* 4 (= 206 Parke & Wormell [PW], L41 Fontenrose [Font.]).

In details, however, the story varies to certain extent. First we have a cluster of accounts which locate Hesiod's death at Oenoe near Naupactus. Thucydides says that the poet was murdered at the temple of Nemean Zeus in Ozolean Locris.[77] According to the *Vita Hesiodi* and Alcidamas, it happened in the area called Oenoe which was dedicated to Nemean Zeus.[78] Plutarch does not specify the name of the village but simply says that Hesiod was killed in the vicinity of the temple of Nemean Zeus in Locris.[79] Pausanias reports that the poet died "in the land of Naupactus,"[80] but as Oenoe was probably quite close to Naupactus, it might well be called also "the Naupactian land." On this information we can conclude that the story of the Hesiod's death belongs to the Western (Ozolean) Locris and took place in Oenoe which belonged to the Naupactian sphere of influence.[81] The same location is suggested by the account that the murderers threw Hesiod's body into the Corinthian Gulf between Ozolean Locris and Achaea from where dolphins brought it to the shore in Rhion on the southern coast of the Corinthian Gulf near Molycrea opposite to Naupactus, and also by the account that Hesiod was buried in Oenoe, next to the temple of Zeus.[82] A different location is recorded by Alcidamas who presents an East Locrian version of the story: according to it, the body was thrown in the sea between Euboea and Locris i.e. in East (Opuntian) Locris.[83] As in the same time he holds the view that the murder took place in Oenoe, and that the body was brought to land at Rhion, Alcidamas must have either mixed two different earlier

[77] Thuc. 3.95.3–96.1.

[78] *Vita Hesiodi* 4, Alcid. in *Cert.* 14.

[79] Plut. *Mor.* 162d–f.

[80] Paus. 9.31.4 and 9.38.2–4.

[81] The exact geographical site of Oenoe is not known.

[82] Der neue Pauly s.v. *Rhion*, Plut. *Mor.* 162d–f, *Vita Hesiodi* 4, Paus. 9.38.4 (the Orchomenians were advised to bring Hesiod's bones "from the land of Naupactus" to their home town), Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14. Although Eratosthenes does not specify the exact place of the first grave of Hesiod, it seems that he agreed with Alcidamas in this matter—the compiler of the *Certamen* at least does not draw any attention to the differences in their opinions. According to Plutarch, the travelling companion of Hesiod called Troilus was also killed and shoved out into the sea. His body was borne out into the current of the river Daphnus, and was caught on a rock projecting a little above the sea-level. This rock was afterwards called Troilus (Plut. *Mor.* 162d). The mouth of the river Daphnus is located about twenty-two miles from Naupactus (Bloomfield 1829:167, DGRG s.v. *Oeneon*).

[83] Alcidamas in *Cert.* 14.

accounts in his own version, or simply given the old story a new location. The third version comes from Aristotle: he assumed that the poet's first grave was in his home village, Ascra, which implies that Hesiod's body must have been brought to his home town for the burial. From Ascra the bones were later transported to Orchomenus.[84]

Another detail that varies in the accounts is the identity of the murderers of Hesiod. They were called either Amphiphanus/Amphiphanes and Ganyctor the sons of Phegeus,[85] or Ctimenus and Antiphus the sons of Ganyctor.[86] From the *Certamen* we learn that one Ganyctor was the son of the Chalcidean king Amphidamas, and that he organized the funeral games of his father, which included the song contest of Homer and Hesiod.[87] Therefore Ganyctor probably belonged to the Euboean tradition, as may have belonged also a source from which Alcidamas learnt the place where Hesiod's body was thrown in the sea. In other sources Ganyctor is usually identified as a Naupactian man. i.e. he belongs to the West Locrian tradition.

Five different versions from five different sources have come down to us relating the fate of the murderers. According to Plutarch and Pollux, the brothers were recognized thanks to Hesiod's dog who snarled and barked at them.[88] Alcidamas says that the killers fled towards Crete by fishing boat and were half-way on their voyage struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt.[89] According to the other sources, they were drowned in the sea by the Locrians and their house was razed to the ground;[90] fled from Naupactus to Molycrea where they sinned against Poseidon, and were punished for that;[91] were sacrificed to the gods of hospitality by Eurycles the seer;[92] or escaped to a temple and died there when winter came.[93]

The girl Clymene or Ctemene (Ctimene) with whom Hesiod allegedly had an affair, was said to have given birth to a son whose name was,

[84] Arist. fr. 565 R.
[85] Arist. fr. 565 R., Alcid. in *Cert.* 14, *Vita Hesiodi* 4.
[86] Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14, Plut. *Mor.* 969e, Paus. 9.31.4, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.
[87] *Cert.* 6.
[88] Plut. *Mor.* 984d, 969e, Pollux 5.42.
[89] Alcid. in *Cert.* 14.
[90] Plut. *Mor.* 162e.
[91] Paus. 9.31.4.
[92] Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14.
[93] *Vita Hesiodi* 4.

according to Aristotle (and the author of the *Peplos*), Stesichorus.[94] Another account states that she hanged herself.[95]

The existence of several slightly different versions of the story indicates that it was well and widely known in oral tradition. However, the differences between the accounts are minor, which, in turn, points to the existence of one early coherent tradition as a source for all these versions. The only serious discrepancy between the versions is the setting of the story. One setting (East Locris) is connected with Amphidamas and his son Ganyctor, and by them with the poetry of Hesiod. The other setting, West Locris, has no visible connection with Hesiod's works. In any case, the story of Hesiod's death is connected with Locri and is most probably a Locrian tradition.

The epitaphs, and the double youth and double grave of Hesiod

Ancient sources give four different epitaphs for Hesiod's tomb. One of them refers to the grave of Hesiod in Locris, and is ascribed to Alcaeus of Messene (3rd/2nd century BC) or Mytilene (6th century BC):[96]

> Λοκρίδος ἐν νέμεϊ σκιερῷ νέκυν Ἡσιόδοιο
> Νύμφαι κρηνίδων λοῦσαν ἀπὸ σφετέρων,
> καὶ τάφον ὑψώσαντο· γάλακτι δὲ ποιμένες αἰγῶν
> ἔρραναν, ξανθῷ μιξάμενοι μέλιτι·
> τοίην γὰρ καὶ γῆρυν ἀπέπνεεν ἐννέα Μουσέων
> ὁ πρέσβυς καθαρῶν γευσάμενος λιβάδων.

> *In a shady glade of Locris the Nymphs washed the body of Hesiod with water from their springs, and raised his tomb. And the goatherds poured libations of milk mixed with golden honey on it; for such was the voice the old man breathed who had tasted the pure streams of the nine Muses.*

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94 *Vita Hesiodi* 3 (following Aristotle's *Orchomenian Constitution*, fr. 565 R.), Philoch. 328 F 213.

The *Peplos* or *Peploi* which is mentioned as the source of this account, may be Aristotle's treatise on mythology (see fr. 637–639 R.). On the other hand, taking into account the numerous Pythagorean traces in Hesiod's tradition, it may well be the *Peplos* which is ascribed to a sixth century BC Orphic/Pythagorean author Brontinus or Zopyrus. More about Brontinus and Zopyrus see in p. 35 n. 131. The alternating singular and plural form of the title should not be taken in overscrupulous way, cf. for example, the confusion over the title of another Orphic poem *Hieros Logos/Hieroi Logoi* among the ancient authors (Cic. *ND* 1.107, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς). The genre πεπλογραφία existed throughout the Classical period (see RE s.v. Πέπλος 2) and may have got its name and character from the Pythagorean *Peplos*.

95 Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14.

96 *Anth. Pal.* 7.55 = HE xii Gow & Page. It is reasonable to suppose that the ethnic

Two epitaphs refer to Hesiod's second grave in Orchomenus. One of them, a peculiar epigram in which Hesiod's double youth, double grave and his unusual wisdom are mentioned is attributed to Pindar by Aristotle and the compiler of the *Vita Hesiodi*:[97]

> Χαῖρε δὶς ἡβήσας καὶ δὶς τάφου ἀντιβολήσας,
> Ἡσίοδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης.
>
> *Farewell you who twice were young and twice met a tomb, you who hold the measure of wisdom for mankind.*

The other is by the Hellenistic or perhaps Roman poet Demiurgus:[98]

> Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου στέφανον καὶ κόσμον ἀοιδῆς,
> Ἀσκραῖον γενεὴν Ἡσίοδον κατέχω.
>
> *I conceal Hesiod, Ascraean by birth, the crown of broad Hellas and adornment of song.*

The fourth epitaph is transmitted in manuscripts under the name of Mnasalces who is identified as Mnasalces or Mnasalcas of Sicyon:[99]

> Ἄσκρη μὲν πατρὶς πολυλήϊος, ἀλλὰ θανόντος
> ὀστέα πληξίππων γῆ Μινυῶν κατέχει
> Ἡσιόδου, τοῦ πλεῖστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλέος ἐστὶν
> ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασάνῳ σοφίης.
>
> *Ascra, the land of many corn-fields was my home, but now when I am dead the Minyan land of riders holds my bones. I am Hesiod, the most renown among the men who are judged by the touchstone of wisdom.*

Pausanias ascribed this epigram to a seventh century poet Chersias of Orchomenus, and Göttling and Schmid-Stählin agree with him in this matter.[100] Mair and Page support the authorship of Mnasalcas, arguing

μυτιληναίου was added to the name Alcaeus by somebody who had heard of the lyric poet but not of the epigrammatist, and the epigram should be ascribed to Alcaeus of Messene (Gow & Page 1965:7). Besides, the epigram is written in Ionic dialect and not in Aeolic as would be expected if the author was Alcaeus of Mytilene.

97 Arist. fr. 565 R.; *Vita Hesiodi* 4 (cf. also Bergk: PLG^4:i.479). Hesiod's double youth became a proverbial expression about extreme old age: τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας (Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας).

98 *Anth. Pal.* 7.52 = FGE vv. 133–134. According to Page, no other poem is known from Demiurgus, and the epigram may be of any date within half a millennium (1981:38).

99 *Anth. Pal.* 7.54 = HE xviii Gow & Page.

100 Göttling 1843:vii, Schmid-Stählin 1929:298. Pausanias cites the epitaph on Hesiod's Orchomenian tomb in 9.38.4, and only a couple of paragraphs on he reports that the Orchomenians had a tradition that Chersias composed the inscription on the grave of Hesiod (9.38.10). Plutarch placed Chersias in the time of Periander and Pittacus (*Mor.* 156e, 163f).

that if Aristotle had known the epigram Ἄσκρη (by Chersias), he would have cited it, and not the one of Pindar, in his *Constitution of Orchomenus*, and indeed, it would be hard to see why or how Mnasalcas' name should have been attached to the epigram if he were not the real author.[101] From the scholium whose sources are Plutarch and Aristotle we know the story of how Hesiod's second grave was established in Orchomenus.[102] According to it, after the Thespians had destroyed Ascra, the survivors of the village fled to Orchomenus. Some time later the plague broke out in the city and the Orchomenians, having sought help from the oracle, brought Hesiod's bones from Ascra to Orchomenus and buried them there according to the Pythian utterances.[103] Therefore, it seems that the second grave came into existence only after the destruction of Ascra, and that the epigram should also originate from that time. The exact date of Ascra's destruction is not known, but according to archaeological data, it could not have happened before the beginning of the fourth century.[104] On the other hand, if the whole above mentioned information, and not only the reference that the Orchomenians buried Hesiod's remains in their own land, is based on Aristotle, then the destruction of Ascra could not have happened after Aristotle's time. The 360's were critical years for Boeotia: the Thebans destroyed both Orchomenus (in 365) and Thespiae (the exact date is not known), and both towns were rebuilt only by Alexander around 336 BC[105] Hence, the destruction of Ascra and the flight of its inhabitants to Orchomenus must have happened around the 380's to 370's. At that time, in the 4th century, neither Chersias nor Mnasalcas could have written the epitaph on Hesiod's tomb. That leaves us two possibilities: first, the epitaph was written about a hundred years later when Orchomenus was rebuilt, in which case the author could have been Mnasalcas. Or some older epigram was written on the tomb in Orchomenus, for example, a (now lost) epigram by Chersias, or the Χαῖρε which is ascribed to Pindar. Since the latter epigram is short, it is not easy to date it by linguistic methods. Some commentators regard its style as Hellenistic; therefore it is possible that the epigram is a Hellenistic forgery, and in that case useless in our attempt to clarify the date when Hesiod's Orchomenian tomb entered the tradition.[106] However, other

101 Mair 1908:xxxi, Page 1981:160, cf. also Gow & Page 1965:413.
102 Schol. Procl. in Hes. *Op.* 631, p. 298 Gaisf. (= Arist. fr. 565 R., Plut. fr. 82 Sandbach).
103 Arist. fr. 565 R., Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14, Paus. 9.38.3–4.
104 Thomas and Conant 1999:148 f.
105 RE s.v. *Thespeia*, Der neue Pauly s.v. *Orchomenos*.
106 Page 1981:159–160.

scholars believe on the grounds of style and of the fact that Aristotle probably knew the epigram, that it may be of early origin and perhaps indeed composed by Pindar, being thus the only known epigram ever ascribed to Pindar.[107] There is yet a third possibility, that Pindar (who did not write epigrams) may have used an ancient epigram in one of his poems, and afterwards it may have been mistakenly ascribed to him by Aristotle or some other author.[108] In that case, the story about Hesiod's double burial and double youth must have been known by the beginning of the 5th century at latest.[109]

There might have existed also a tradition that the Muses, besides teaching Hesiod to sing, rejuvenated him when he was already an old man.[110] Direct references to this particular tradition are late, and may all derive from the same immediate source, Aelius Donatus.[111] However, the story may have roots in an old tradition known already in the middle of the fifth century: Euripides may have known the story of the double youth of Hesiod and possibly also the Pindar's epigram. In the second stasimon of *Heracles* the wish to escape old age is treated in detail. At 637–700 the chorus praises the hero, who has just returned from Hades, saying that the good should be rewarded with a second life, "δίδυμον ἂν ἥβαν ἔφερον / φανερὸν χαρακτῆρ' ἀρετᾶς / ὅσοισιν μέτα …," using thus remarkably similar diction to the epigram.[112] The wish presented by the chorus of old men is highly personal. Ruth Scodel: "Their presentation of the second life as a new youth is partially explicable as the expression of their hatred of their own age, while their claim to be among those deserving this favour is substantiated not only by their loyalty to Heracles, but also by their being singers. /… / Euripides' δίδυμον ἥβαν is very similar to the epigram's δὶς ἡβήσας, and the two contexts are similar. /… / The Latin tradition makes Hesiod's rejuvenation the gift of the Muses, to whom the Euripidean singers are devoted. The evidence points to Euripides' having

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[107] Bergk PLG^4:i.479, Sinclair 1932:xl, Scodel 1980:302 with n. 4.

[108] In which case the real author of the epigram could be Chersias after all, as is reported by Pausanias.

[109] In that case the second grave (in Orchomenus) must have existed before the destruction of Ascra, and all of those happenings in the fourth century have nothing to do with the origin of the second grave. Mnasalcas might have written a new epigram after Orchomenus was rebuilt by Alexander; he might even have used the old epigram as a model, as Page has pointed out (1981:160).

[110] See Scodel 1980:304–311.

[111] See Scodel *cit. loc.*, and Symmachus *Ep.* 7.20.

[112] Eur. *Her.* 657 f.

known and used a tradition of Hesiod's second life."[113] In mythology, the usual way to become young again is through death and resurrection. This way was used, for example, by Medea who killed, revived and rejuvenated Jason and Aeson.[114] The other way to gain a new life was to descend into Hades and to find a way back to this world. This method was used by Sisyphus, Odysseus, Heracles, Orpheus and supposedly also by Pythagoras.[115] Hesiod was believed to be an author of a poem about Theseus' descent into Hades, and it is not inconceivable that the tradition of Hesiod's descent into the Underworld, influenced by his own poem, existed at some period of time.

Ancient authors' hesitation concerning the date of Hesiod and his chronological relationship to other poets points, too, to the possibility of the early existence of the account of the double youth of Hesiod. The belief that Hesiod was young twice may have developed as an attempt to link him on the one hand with Homer, and on the other hand with Stesichorus.[116] If the hypothesis that the account of Hesiod's long life developed as an explanation of his traditional connection with these two poets is correct, we can reasonably conclude that the story of Hesiod's death (including the account of the birth of Stesichorus) must have been known already by the first half of the fifth century at latest.

We do not know what exactly δὶς ἡβήσας καὶ δὶς τάφου ἀντιβολήσας in Pindar's epigram means. Perhaps it means that Hesiod (was believed to have) had an extraordinarily long life, or, as Scodel has proposed, that Hesiod gained the second youth without intermediate death, and two graves in the epigram means just reburying of the bones of the poet in later times. Since the epigram was quoted in Aristotle's *Orchomenian Constitution*, where most of the information about Hesiod seems to have been derived from the (Pythagorean) *Peplos*, the

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[113] Scodel 1980:315 f.

[114] Eur. *Argum. Med.*, *Nostoi* fr. 7 Bernabé (fr. 6 West, Allen), Sim. fr. 43 PMG, Pherec. 3 F 113. Jason and Aeson were rejuvenated through a process of decoction. The same process is employed to restore youth to Demos at Aristophanes' *Equites* 1321 ff., cf. *HyDem*. 231–245; see Scodel 1980:307 ff.

[115] Sisyphus: Paus. 2.5.1, schol. Hom. *Il.* 6.153, TrGF iii:338–341, 415, 572. Odysseus: *Od.* 11. Orpheus: Paus. 9.30.4–6, Verg. *G* 4.454–503, Ov. *Met.* 10: 11–64. Pythagoras, who claimed to have seen Hesiod and Homer in Hades: Hieron. Rhod. fr. 42 Wehrli, ap. Diog. L. 8.21.

[116] As a matter of fact, Homer too had an oracle for twofold destiny, but it refers clearly to his blindness and fame, and not to his death: δοίας γὰρ ζωῆς μοίρας λάχες, ἣν μὲν ἀμαυράν / ἠελίων δισσῶν, ἣν δ' ἀθανάτοις ἰσόμοιρον / ζῶντί τε καὶ φθιμένῳ; φθίμενος δ' ἔτι πολλὸν ἀγήρως ([Plut.] *Vita Hom.* i.4).

possibility that the long youth of Hesiod may have been mentioned in this particular poem cannot be ruled out.[117]

Traditional themes in the story of death

The story of Hesiod's death contains several elements found in traditions of other poets and famous people. First, it includes oracles. One of them, as is already mentioned, was uttered by the Pythia when the poet was approaching the temple in order to dedicate his victory over Homer at the song-contest to Apollo.[118] Hesiod misinterpreted the oracle and was killed in the grove of Nemean Zeus in Locris. The futility of attempts to escape one's destiny expressed by predictions is a theme for which there are parallels, not only in Greek tradition and mythology, but in the folk lore of many cultures.[119] The other (not extant) oracle was given to the Orchomenians when they asked help to overcome the plague. They were told to bring Hesiod's remains and bury them in their land. The Pythia gave them also guidance about where to look for the bones.[120] This oracle belongs among the typical aetiological legends, according to which the bones of the hero have beneficial powers.[121] A similar story about the bones of Linus is reported by Pausanias: the Thebans claimed that Linus was originally buried among them, but after the Greek defeat at Chaeronea king Philip, in obedience to a vision in a dream, recovered the bones of Linus and took them to Macedonia. Later, however, another vision made him send the bones back to Thebes.[122] The defensive power of the bones of a hero is the reason why the location of his grave had to be kept secret, so that those who wanted to find it could not do so without divine help.

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[117] There is a third possibility—that Hesiod was believed to have lived and died twice, and also been buried twice (Marckscheffel 1840:28–29).

[118] *Cit.* in p. 25.

[119] For example, the story of the death of Cambyses (Hdt. 3.64.3–5) or Oedipus (Soph. *OT*). See Fairweather 1974:271, Fontenrose 1978:58–62. Notice the formulaic structure and diction of, for example, the oracles to Cypselus (Hdt. 5.92ε, = 8 PW, Q61) and to the Megarians (Hesych. 390 F 1,3 = 487–498 PW, Q44), see also Fontenrose 1978:116 f.

[120] See Arist. fr. 565 R., Eratosth. in *Cert.* 14, Paus. 9.38.3–4. *Vita Hesiodi* 4, (27 PW, and L42 Font.). Plutarch knew a slightly different version of the story, according to which Hesiod's grave in Oenoe was kept concealed because the Orchomenians were looking for it (*Mor.* 162ef).

[121] See Parke & Wormell 1956:i.395 f. Iamblichus reports also that the Pythagoreans used selected readings from Homer and Hesiod to restore the soul (*VP* 164). For more examples, see p. 214 below.

[122] Paus. 9.29.8–9. For more examples, see p. 214 below.

Hesiod's tradition includes animal-helpers: the Orchomenians who were looking for the poet's grave were guided by a crow sent by Pythia, and the poet's corpse was brought to the shore by dolphins.[123] The dolphins figure in other Greek traditions too: they helped Arion to return home, and brought the body of young Melicertes to the shore of Isthmus where it was buried by Sisyphus who established the Isthmian Games in his honour.[124] Finally, Hesiod's dog helped to find his murderers,—just as the dog Maera had helped to find the body of Icarius.[125]

A long life, which Hesiod enjoyed according to tradition, is frequently a characteristic feature of seers, poets and heroes: Orpheus, for example, was said to have lived either nine or eleven generations, Teiresias seven, Sarpedon three and Nestor more than two generations.[126]

Another traditional motif in the story of Hesiod's death is the archetypal pattern of a woman insulted by a man, who is punished for that by two other men connected with the woman. We can see such a pattern in the stories of Helen (Helen—Theseus—Dioscuri; or Helen—Paris—Menelaus and Agamemnon), and in the story of Alcmaeon (Arsinoe, the daughter of Phegeus of Psophis—Alcmaeon—Phegeus' sons).[127] In the tradition of Hesiod, the poet insults (seduces or rapes) or is thought to have insulted Ctemene the daughter of Phegeus, and her brothers take revenge by killing him. A similar story is known about the Idaean Dactyls: three dactyls Acmon ("anvil"), Damnameneus ("the compeller" i.e. "the hammer") and Celmis ("knife"), were brothers, the sons of Rhea. Celmis insulted Rhea, and was turned to steel or was killed by his brothers.[128] According to Pliny, Hesiod had written about the Idaean Dactyls,[129] but since only one fragment of this poem has survived, we do not know what exactly it was about. The patterns in the story of Hesiod's death and in the story of Rhea and the Dactyls are the same: woman, two (good) men + one (bad) man. It is possible that the structure of the story of Hesiod's death has been influenced by the poet's own work, which, in turn, was constructed according to a traditional story-pattern.

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[123] Concealed grave: Plut. *Mor.* 162ef; a crow as a guide: Paus. 9.38.3–4, the dolphins: Alcidamas in *Cert.* 14, Plut. *Mor.* 162cf, 984d, *Vita Hesiodi* 4.

[124] Arion: Hdt. 1.23 f. Melicertes: fr. 6.5 Sn.-M.; Arist. fr. 637 R.; Plut. *Mor.* 677b; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.29.

[125] Plut. *Mor.* 984d, 969e; Pollux 5.42; Hyginus *Astron.* ii.4. More examples in p. 215.

[126] Orpheus: Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς. Teiresias: Hes. fr. 276 MW, cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7. Sarpedon: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.2. Nestor: *Il.* 1.250. More examples in p. 216.

[127] Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.5–7.

[128] Schol. in Ap. Rhod. 1.1126, Ov.*Met.* 4.281, Soph. fr. 337.

[129] Plin. *NH* 7.56.197; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.75; Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.

And finally, the tradition that the child of Hesiod and Ctemene was Stesichorus belongs among the formulaic details which linked famous people together in biographical traditions.[130]

In conclusion, the story of Hesiod's death is highly formulaic and was very well known among the ancient authors. It appears to be an early story. Parts of it, if not all, were undoubtedly known by the fifth century (Pindar and Thucydides refer to it). Aristotle knew that the murderers of Hesiod were Phegeus' sons Amphiphanus and Ganyctor, that the name of the girl was Ctimene, that the son of Hesiod and the girl was Stesichorus, and that Hesiod had a second grave in Orchomenus,—i.e. he knew practically the whole story. As is argued above (p. 28), Aristotle's source may have been the *Peplos*, a poem ascribed to the sixth century Orphic poet Brontinus or to Zopyrus.[131] Therefore, the original story of Hesiod's death may belong to the first part of the sixth century. If not, it had developed in full detail possibly by the beginning of the fifth, and certainly by the fourth century BC.

The cult and images of Hesiod

At least in the Hellenistic period, Hesiod was honoured with cult in many places around Greece.[132] Both sites of his grave seem to have attracted worshippers: according to Alcaeus of Messene, "the goat-herds poured libations of milk mixed with honey" on Hesiod's tomb on Locris, and the story of the transportation of Hesiod's remains to Orchomenus and of the second burial of his bones in the centre of the agora is a sign of reverence with which his remains were treated in the city.[133] The early

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[130] See p. 212.

[131] Brontinus of Metapontum or Croton is said to have been the father (or husband) of Pythagoras' wife (or daughter or pupil) Theano (Diog. L. 8.42, Suda s.v. Πυθαγόρας, Τεανώ, and Θεανώ, Iambl. *VP* 36, 267, cf. West 1983:9 n. 16, Burkert 1972:114, 289 n. 57). Brontinus was a contemporary to the sixth century physician Alcmeon of Croton: he was one of the three people to whom the latter dedicated his book (24 B 1 DK). Brontinus was, besides the *Peplos*, also regarded as the author of the *Physika* and *Diktys* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς). Zopyrus of Heraclea or Tarentum was an early Pythagorean (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 131.1, Iambl. *VP* 267) to whom, in addition to the *Peplos*, the *Krater* and the *Diktys* were credited (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 131.1, Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς). We should not forget that Cercops, an Orphic or Pythagorean poet, contemporary to Onomacritus, is attested by Aristotle as a critic of Hesiod (see p. 43 and p. 42 n. 178). About the Orphic/Pythagorean poets see West 1983:9.

[132] For example, I.G 7.1785, 7.4240b and 7.4240c, and Plut. *Numa* 4.6. See also Beaulieu 2004.

[133] Alcaeus of Messene in *Anth. Pal.* 7.55.

origin of the story of Hesiod's death at Oenoe suggests that there may have existed a cult of Hesiod in Oenoe already in the pre-Classical period, developed in connection with the story of the poet's death. However, we have no solid evidence to determine when the cult of Hesiod was established.[134]

There are also several statues of the poet mentioned in the sources, which may or may not have been linked to a cult of Hesiod.[135] Pausanias refers to the ones in Thespiae, Olympia, and on Helicon. The Thespian statue was made of bronze and set up in the agora. Not far from it stood a small temple of the Muses, and from that temple two inscriptions have been found in which Hesiod, son of Dios, is linked with the Muses.[136] In Olympia, the mid-fifth century BC statues of Hesiod and Homer stood alongside the great temple, among the images of deities.[137] On Helicon, in the grove of the Muses, was an image of seated Hesiod holding the cithara. Other statues around him represented the Muses, Apollo and Hermes fighting for the lyre, Dionysus, Telete, and the poets Orpheus, Linus, Thamyris, Arion, and Sacadas of Argos.[138] Pausanias reports also that the tripod which Hesiod was said to have received as a prize at the song contest at Chalcis, was still on Helicon at his time.[139]

There was also a brazen Hesiod in the public gymnasium in Constantinople in later antiquity.[140] The only extant inscribed representation of Hesiod is the fourth-century AD mosaic by Monnus, found in Trier.[141]

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[134] About the cults of poets see also p. 222.

[135] Unfortunately none of the statues is extant. For more, see Richter 1962:42–45, 1965:56–66 with figs. 128–230, 1972:5.

[136] Paus. 9.27.5, IG 7.4240 b,c.

[137] The author of these sculptures was Dionysius of Argos, see Paus. 5.26.2 f., and Richter 1965:57.

[138] Paus. 9.29.5–30.4.

[139] Paus. 9.31.3, cf. *Op*. 656–659. The inscription is:

Ἡσίοδος Μούσαις Ἑλικωνίσι τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν,
ὕμνῳ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον Ὅμηρον,
—see *Cert*. 13 and *Anth. Pal.* 7.53, and Varro in Gell. *NA* 3.11.3.

[140] Christodorus (5th/6th century AD) in *Anth. Pal.* 2.38–40.

[141] Richter 1965:57 and fig. 128.

6. *The works of Hesiod and on Hesiod*

Works attributed to Hesiod

According to the *Vita Hesiodi* section 3, Hesiod wrote sixteen books compared to Homer's thirteen. Altogether seventeen different titles were ascribed to Hesiod by ancient authors. Only the *Works and Days*, the *Theogony* and the *Shield of Heracles* are extant, others are known by fragments, by descriptions of their content, or only by titles. The works thought to have been Hesiod's are the following:

1. The *Works and Days* (Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι)
2. The *Theogony* (Θεογονία)
3. The *Catalogue of Women* or *Ehoeae* (Γυναικῶν κατάλογος, Ἠοῖαι)
4. The *Shield of Heracles* (Ἀσπίς)
5. The *Divination by Birds* (Ὀρνιθομαντεία)
6. The *Seercraft* (Μαντικά)
7. The *Astronomy/Astrology* (Ἀστρονομία/Ἀστρολογία)
8. The *Precepts of Cheiron* (Ὑποθῆκαι Χείρωνος)
9. The *Great Works* (Ἔργα Μεγάλα)
10. The *Great Ehoeae* (Ἠοῖαι Μεγάλαι)
11. The *Idaean Dactyls* (Περὶ Δακτύλων Ἰδαίων)
12. The *Marriage of Ceyx* (Κήυκος γάμος)
13. The *Melampodia* (Μελαμποδία)
14. The *Aegimius* (Αἰγίμιος)
15. *Circuit of the Earth* (Περίοδος Γῆς)
16. *Dirge for Batrachus* (Ἐπικήδειος εἰς Βάτραχον)
17. *Peirithous'* or *Theseus' Descent into Hades* (Πειρίθοου / Θήσεως κατάβασις)
18. *Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis* (Ἐπιθαλάμιον εἰς Πελέα καὶ Θέτιν)
19. The *Ceramis* (Κεραμεῖς).[142]

[142] There may have been also the *Interpretations of Portents*: "καὶ ἔστιν ἔπη Μαντικά, ὁπόσα τε ἐπελεξάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐξηγήσεις ἐπὶ τέρασιν" (Paus. 9.31.5). Most (2006:lxii–lxiii, 212–213) relying on Athen. 3.116ad, mentions among the works ascribed to Hesiod also a poem on preserved foods: "… ὁ Λεωνίδης ἔφη; Εὐθύδημος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐν τῷ περὶ ταρίχων Ἡσίοδόν φησι περὶ πάντων τῶν ταριχευομένων τάδ' εἰρηκέναι; ἄμφακες μὲν πρῶτον στόμα κέκριται αντα καὶ θιοην, γναθμὸν ὃν ηὐδάξαντο δυσείμονες ἰχθυβολῆες …".

The authorship of the poems seems to be, along with the question of the poet's date, one of the most discussed topics in Hesiod's tradition among ancient authors, especially in Hellenistic and later time. In fact, the only poem which was unanimously thought to have been composed by him was the *Works and Days*.[143]

The title Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι is first attested by Lucian, but it had no doubt been established earlier.[144] The first known allusion to this poem linked to its author Hesiod comes from Pindar who in *Isthmian* 6.67 f. mentions Hesiod and refers to line 412 of the *Works*.[145] Another early reference to the poem is found in Aristophanes' *Frogs*: "For consider from the beginning how useful the noble poets have been. Orpheus showed us mysteries, / ... /, Hesiod the culture of the soil, the seasons of fruits, ploughings (γῆς ἐργασίας, καρπῶν ὥρας, ἀρότους)."[146] Also Plato cites line 311 of our *Works* fairly closely as Hesiod's.[147] Imitations of the *Works and Days* may date back to the 6th century BC: Ibycus' allusion to *Op.* 646–660 (especially lines 649 and 659–660) seems quite plausible.[148] Alcaeus may have alluded to *Op.* 582–489, and Theognis to *Op.* 702–703,—but these allusions may just as well be derived from a common tradition.[149]

Hellenistic authors often regarded the proem of the *Works* as an addition to the original epic: Praxiphanes obelized it saying that the poem should be read starting from the account of the Strifes (i.e. from line 11), and Aristarchus is reported to have rejected the prelude, as well as Crates who claimed the beginnings of both the *Works* and *Theogony* to

143 Paus. 9.31.4: "the Boeotians dwelling around Helicon hold the tradition that Hesiod wrote nothing but the *Works and Days*."

144 Luc. *Dial. de Hes.* 6, see also West 1978:136.

145 Pi. *Isthm.* 6.66–68.: / ... / Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν / ἔργοις ὀπάζων Ἡσιόδου μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ' ἔπος, / υἱοῖσί τε φράζων παραινεῖ / ... /, cf. *Op.* 412: / ... / μελέτη δὲ τὸ ἔργον ὀφέλλει.

146 Aristoph. *Ran.* 1030 ff.

147 Pl. *Charm.* 163bc: οὐ μέντοι, ἔφη· οὐδὲ γε τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν. Ἔμαθον γὰρ παρ' Ἡσιόδου, ὅς ἔφη ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν εἶναι ὄνειδος, cf. *Op.* 311: ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δὲ τ' ὄνειδος. Cf. also Pl. *Epin.* 990a in which the *Works* (or *Astronomia*) may be referred to as a poem by Hesiod. Other authors who have referred to the *Works* explicitly as a poem composed by Hesiod are Archias in *Anth. Palat.* 9.64, Quintilian *Inst.* 5.11.19, Manilius 2.19, 24, Plutarch *Thes.* 3.2, *Mor.* 105d (with a citation of lines 94–104), 157ef (cit. ll. 41, 45, and 46), 736e, and frr. 25, 82 and 84 Sandbach; Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 77.1 (cit. *Op.* 25), "some" in Paus. 9.31.4, and the Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος.

148 Ibyc. 282 PMG, cf. Barron 1969:134.

149 Alc. fr. 347a L-P, see West 1966:40 n. 4; Theogn. 1225 W.

be ordinary hymns which could be attached to any poem.[150] Pausanias reports that the Boeotians refused to accept any other poem but the *Works* as Hesiod's and rejected the prelude to the Muses, probably on the grounds that their own copy, written on a tablet of lead, did not contain it.[151] Plutarch who wrote a substantial (now lost) commentary on the *Works and Days* agrees that it should begin with line 11 of our poem.[152] He athetized also several other places, mostly on moral grounds (*Op.* 267–273, 353–355, 375, 757–759) and rejected, for unknown reasons, *Op.* 244–245, and 561–563.[153] Although Proclus claims that Plutarch regarded the passage on the poet's contest in Chalcis (*Op.* 651–662) as an interpolation, he certainly knew the tradition of the contest between Homer and Hesiod at the funeral games of Amphidamas.[154] Lines 317–318 of the *Works* he condemned as interpolated from Homer (*Od.* 17.347, *Il.* 24.45).[155] Modern commentators have generally accepted the proem as well as the whole epic as Hesiod's work.[156]

The Theogony, Θεογονία, as a formal title was fixed by the Hellenistic time at latest, as it is attested by Chrysippus the Stoic (3rd century BC).[157] The allusions to the poem, however, go back to as early as the fifth century: Bacchylides mentions Hesiod and cites a line of his,—although the verse is not attested in extant versions of Hesiodic poems, the closest line to it is found in *Theogony* 81–84.[158] Herodotus claims that Hesiod (besides Homer) created the Hellenic theogony, keeping in mind probably that particular epic poem.[159] Among the Classical authors also Aristotle cites the *Theogony* quite closely and links it with Hesiod.[160]

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150 Praxiph. (fr. 22b Wehrli) and Aristarch. in Tz. *Comm. in Hes. Op.* 1; Crates in *Vita Dion. Per. Chisian.* ed. Colonna, Boll. Com. 5.1957, 11, 1. l. 51, cf. West 1978:137, Jacoby 1930:125.

151 Paus. 9.31.4.

152 Plut. *Mor.* 736e, but cf. [Plut.] fr. 25 Sandbach, which refers to *Op.* 7. Plutarch's commentary on Hesiod in at least four books is known from Gellius (*NA* 20.8.7).

153 West 1978:67.

154 Procl. scholia ad *Op.* 651–662 (Plut. fr. 84 Sandbach), but cf. Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a and 674f–675a.

155 cf. West 1978:67.

156 Leo 1960:346, West 1978:137. *Contra*: Lamberton 1988:47 f.

157 Chrysipp. fr. 908 SVF ii.256.21–23

158 Bacchyl. *Epin.* 5.191 ff.

159 Hdt. 2.53. Cf. also Simonides (ap. *Gnomol. Vatic. Gr.* 1144) who calls Hesiod "a gardener /- - -/ for he told legends about gods and heroes," referring thus probably to the *Theogony* and *Catalogue*.

160 Arist. *Met.* A 4 p. 984a23, cf. *Th.* 116 f., and 120. Later references and allusions to the *Theogony*: Archias *Anth. Pal.* 9.64, Manilius 2.11, Plut. *Mor.* 743c, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 77.1,

Among the many commentaries and treatises written on the *Theogony*, Zeno is known to have allegorically interpreted the poem and Aristonicus is reported to have written a grammatical work on the [critical] signs in the *Theogony* as well as in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[161] Some structural features in the *Theogony* have puzzled commentators. The poem begins with two separate proems, as lines 1–103 are the "Hymn to the Muses," and lines 104–115 the "Invocation of the Muses." Crates athetized both on the same ground as he athetized the proem of the *Works*.[162] The poem in its extant form has no proper ending either. The description of the genealogies of the gods ends at the line 962. Next come a couple of transitional lines (963–965) which introduce a passage of more than fifty lines on the progeny of goddesses and mortal men (966–1020). Again, at the very end, lines 1021–1022 form another transition, this time to the genealogies of the mortal women, the mothers of the heroes (γυναικῶν φῦλον). It may be that the poem (just like the *Works*) grew in scope as it was being composed and transmitted, and the part on the unions of goddesses and mortal men was added to the end of the poem of the genealogies of the gods.[163]

The *Catalogue of Women*, a poem in five books, was originally transmitted probably as a continuation to the *Theogony*; its text followed the transitional lines 1019–1020 of our *Theogony*.[164] It may have had an alternative title, *Ehoeae*, probably a derivation from the formula ἢ οἵη which

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Lucian *Dial. de Hes.* 1, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. Cf. also Pausanias who, under the influence of "the Boeotians" doubts the Hesiodic authorship of the *Theogony*, see above p. 39.

[161] Zeno fr. 167 SVF i.43, Suda s.v. Ἀριστόνικος. About the transmission of the text, see West 1966:48–52 and also 1978:63–71.

[162] Cf. references in p. 39 n. 150. Nowadays, however, the proem is regarded as a genuine part of the *Theogony* (West 1966:136 f.).

[163] About the similar development of the *Works* cf. West 1978:44–46. Further expansion to the *Theogony*'s original form as composed by Hesiod was made by addition of the transitional lines 1021–1022, and the whole *Catalogue* in five books to the *Theogony* (West 1966:48–50). It has even been assumed that the *Theogony* itself is an extraordinarily expanded proem to the *Catalogue of Women* (Lamberton 1988:45). The common opinion is that the *Theogony* is an earlier poem than the *Works and Days*. It has been proposed by West that the *Theogony* was composed for the competition at the funeral games of Amphidamas (1966:40–49). In that case the date of the *Theogony* depends on the date of the Lelantine War.

[164] Five books: Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. The relation to the *Theogony*: West 1985:126. The references to the *Catalogue*: Apollonius in the *Argum. Scuti* 1, (Aristarchus) in schol. *Il.* 23.683b (see also West 1985:127 with n. 3), Dio Chrysost. *Or.* 2.13 f., Crates in schol. Hes. *Th.* 142, Lucian *Dial. de Hes.* 1, POxy 3537 *recto* 5–6, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος; cf. also Aristophanes Byz. in *Argum. Scuti* 1, Ael. *VH* 12.36, Archias in *Anth. Pal.* 9.64, Paus. 9.31.4 and 2.26.7 (= Hes. fr. 50 MW), and Hirschberger 2004:26 n. 35.

introduces each new heroine and her genealogy. On the other hand, it is argued that the *Catalogue* and *Ehoeae* were separate poems or two different sections of the same poem.[165] Hellenistic commentators in general seem to have had no doubts about the authorship of the poem: Apollonius of Rhodes, Aristarchus, and Crates as well seem to have ascribed it to Hesiod.[166] However, Aelian, perhaps under the influence of "the Boeotians" in Pausanias 9.31.4, claims that the *Catalogue* is falsely attributed to Hesiod.[167]

Stesichorus is said to have ascribed the *Shield of Heracles* to Hesiod.[168] The Peripatetic Megaclides recognized the poem as a genuine work of Hesiod, and so did Apollonius of Rhodes, on the ground of style and from the fact that Iolaus figures both in the *Shield* and the *Catalogue* (which he believed to be a Hesiodic poem as well).[169] The *Shield* is ascribed to Hesiod also by Epaphroditus who is reported to have written an Ὑπόμνημα Ἀσπίδος Ἡσιόδου, and by the Suda.[170] Aristophanes of Byzantium, on the other hand, suspected it to be a composition by somebody else whose intention was to imitate the Homeric *Shield of Achilles*.[171] The *Shield* seems to have been transmitted with the text of the *Catalogue*, since, according to its *Argument*, the beginning of the *Shield* up to the fifty-sixth line belonged in the fourth book of the *Catalogue*.

Pherecydes of Athens was acquainted with the account of the death of the seer Calchas, otherwise known from the *Melampodia*, which related stories about famous seers, and was divided into at least three books.[172]

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[165] See Hirschberger 2004:27 f. who gives a thorough overview of different modern opinions.

[166] See the references in n. 164.

[167] Ael. *VH* 12.36, Paus. 9.31.4. See Hirschberger 2004:42–51 about modern opinions of the authorship of the *Catalogue*. Dräger 1997 argues against the view that the last section of the *Theogony* and the *Catalogue* are post-Hesiodic works of the sixth century BC, cf. Richardson 2000:263 f.

[168] *Argum. Scuti* 1. Davison maintains that Stesichorus may have named Hesiod in connection with some incident or certain words which some later scholar recognized as reproducing something which he found in the *Shield*, or even that Stesichorus' words unintentionally resembled those of the *Shield* (1968:82 f.). Even so, it was enough to give rise to the opinion that Stesichorus believed it to be Hesiod's work.

[169] Megaclides and Apollonius in *Argum. Scuti* 1.

[170] Epaphrod. in *Et. Gud.* 91.18, 177.23 Sturz; Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. See also [Longin.] *De sublim.* 9.5.

[171] *Argum. Scuti* 1. Modern commentators believe that the *Shield* is either composed in the early sixth century (not by Hesiod), or is a traditional oral poem, elaborated to its final form by the so called Hesiodic school (Davison 1968:82, Janko 1982:14, 127 f., West 1985:136; Lamberton 1988:139, Most 2006:lviii).

[172] Pherec. 3 F 142. *Melampodia* as Hesiod's poem: Str. 14.1.27 (642) (= Hes. fr. 278

It is not clear, however, whether Pherecydes regarded Hesiod as the author of the poem.

Even less is known of the other poems. The *Ornithomanteia* was attached to the end of the *Works* until Apollonius Rhodius athetized it.[173] Five fragments are preserved from the *Astronomy* (or *Astrology*, as Plutarch calls it) which dealt with constellations and the legends connected with them.[174] The *Precepts of Cheiron*, a didactic poem addressed to Achilles by his teacher the centaur Cheiron, was apparently generally accepted as Hesiodic until Aristophanes of Byzantium denied the attribution some time around 200 BC.[175] Nothing certain is known of the structure, contents or transmission of the *Great Works* and the *Great Ehoeae*, mentioned by several ancient authors.[176] The *Idaean Dactyls* dealt probably with the discovery of metals and their working, and might have been appended to the *Great Works*.[177] The *Aegimius* (which was also ascribed to Cercops of Miletus) was probably about the deeds of Heracles and the Dorian king Aigimius.[178] The *Marriage of Ceyx* was ascribed to Hesiod with some hesitation by Athenaeus; Plutarch, however, thought it to be

MW), Athen. 13.609e (277 MW), 11.498ab (271 MW), 2.40f (274 MW), Paus. 9.31.4–6, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7 (275 MW), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.2.26 (273 MW); cf. Str. 14.5.16 f. (675–676) (279 MW).

173 Procl. schol. Hes. *Op.* 828. West has proposed that this poem might have been Hesiod's own expansion to *Op.* 828 where divination by birds is mentioned (1978:46, 364).

174 Manilius 2.24, Plin. *NH* 18.213, Athen. 11.491cd, cf. also Pl. *Epin.* 990a, and Tz. *Chil.* 12.161–166, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 402e–403a.

175 Aristoph. Byz. in Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.15, cf. Lamberton 1988:135. Other references to the *Precepts*: Paus. 9.31.4, schol. Pi. *P.* 6.22. Evelyn-White places a verse attributed to Hesiod and found in Plutarch's *Mor.* 415cd among the fragments of *Precepts* (fr. 3 E–W). In Merkelbach-West the verses are classified under *Incertae sedis* (fr. 304 MW).

176 Paus. 9.31.4, Athen. 8.364b, Procl. schol. Hes. *Op.* 126, schol. Arist. *EN* 5.8. Modern commentators have sometimes believed them to be Hesiodic or traditional poems separate from the *Works* and the *Ehoeae*, or simply the longer versions of these poems (West 1985:1,3, 1978:22 f., Evelyn-White 1995:xx, Leo 1960:348 f.; Lamberton 1988:136).

177 Plin. *NH* 7.56.197, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.75, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος. Cf. Evelyn-White 1995:xx.

178 Athen. 11.503d, Steph. Byz., p. 3.1 Meineke (fr. 296 MW). In Merkelbach-West the verse which, according to Hereas (486 F 1), was expunged from Hesiod's work by Peisistratus, is placed among the fragments of *Aegimius* (fr. 298 MW). Cercops is called the Pythagorean by Cicero (*ND* 1.107), Epigenes (in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131), and the Suda (s.v. Ὀρφεύς). In addition to the *Aigimius* attributed to him by Athenaeus (11.503d), the Orphic poems *Hieroi Logoi*/*Hieros Logos* and the *Descent into Hades* (perhaps the same poem as the one about Theseus' descent?) were ascribed to him (*loci cit.*). According to Aristotle, Cercops had criticized Hesiod in his lifetime (fr. 75 R.).

an obvious interpolation in the works of Hesiod.[179] The *Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis* is thought to be a part of the *Catalogue* rather than an independent poem.[180] The rest of the works—*Circuit of the Earth*, *Dirge for Batrachus*, *Theseus' Descent into Hades*, *Seercraft* and the *Ceramis*—are mere titles for us, as nothing of these poems has survived.[181]

As is seen, in the Classical period and earlier, Hesiod was believed to have composed various didactic, genealogical, and heroic poems. The doubts about his authorship, based mainly on the grounds of style, arose only in the Hellenistic period, and as a result, several poems (the *Catalogue*, *Shield*, *Ornithomanteia*, *Precepts*, *Marriage of Ceyx*) and parts of the poems (the proems of the *Works* and *Theogony*) were detached from Hesiod. The extreme view that only the *Works and Days* was a genuine poem of Hesiod was shared among the Boeotians.

Treatises on Hesiod

Hesiod's life, poetry and teachings were constantly and extensively discussed by commentators throughout antiquity.[182] Most of the works are lost, but of some at least the titles or something about the contents is known. The following list of the titles and descriptions of treatises on the subject gives a glimpse of the impressive scope of the ancient writings and criticism on Hesiod.

Aristotle says that Cercops criticized the poet in the latter's lifetime, and Xenophanes after his death.[183] The latter is reported to have composed iambics attacking Hesiod and Homer and denouncing what they said about the gods.[184] Acusilaus (5th c. BC) and Eumelus (8th c. BC)[185] were reported to have turned the works of Hesiod into prose and

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179 Athen. 49b, Plut. *Mor.* 730 f.

180 Tz. in Lycophr. p. 4.13 Scheer, Hirschberger 2004:30.

181 *Circuit of the Earth*: Eph. 70 F 42, Str. 7.3.9 (302); the *Dirge*: Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος; the *Descent*: Paus. 9.31.4; the *Ceramis*: Pollux 10.85. The latter poem was ascribed to Homer by the Suda (s.v. Ὅμηρος).

182 About the ancient scholarship and the transmission of the text of the *Works* and *Theogony* see West (1966:48–52, 1987:60–71) and Pfeiffer (1968:117, 44, 177, 220, 241 etc.).

183 Arist. fr. 75 R. About Cercops see above p. 42 n. 178.

184 Two of his critical fragments have come down to us: Xenoph. 21 B 11, 12, see also 21 A 1. Fr. 11 and 12 might be called iambics by their content, by metre they are hexameters.

185 Eumelus of Corinth the epic poet rather than Eumelus the 4th/3rd c. historian in FGrHist 77, see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, Paus. 2.1.1, Athen. 1.22c, and Huxley 1969:22, 190, Mosshammer 1979:201.

presented them as their own, or amended the text in some way.[186] Aristotle dealt with Hesiod's life and death at length in his *Orchomenian Constitution* and is reported to have written a treatise titled Ἀπορήματα Ἡσιόδου in at least two books.[187] Among Diogenes' list of the works of Heracleides Ponticus is one on the age of Homer and Hesiod (Περὶ τῆς Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου ἡλικίας) in two books, perhaps the same treatise which Chamaeleon claims to have been plagiarized from his own.[188] Alcidamas wrote upon Hesiod's death in his *Museum*, and Ephorus gave the genealogies of Hesiod and Homer in his *Local History*.[189] Zeno is reported to have given an (allegorical) interpretation of Hesiod's *Theogony*, Philochorus investigated the date of Homer and Hesiod, and the death of Hesiod.[190] There was also a treatise on Homer and Hesiod by the Hellenistic grammarian Antidorus of Cyme, and a work on their poetry by Hecataeus of Abdera.[191] Zenodotus published a critical text of the *Theogony* and also wrote a commentary on this poem.[192] Aristophanes of Byzantium discussed the authorship of Hesiod's works, and probably made a διόρθωσις at least of the *Theogony*.[193] Eratosthenes had a work called *Hesiod* in which he dealt with the poet's death, and probably also with his date and his knowledge in geography.[194] Aristarchus edited both the *Theogony* and the *Works*, and possibly wrote a commentary on them as well.[195] Demetrius Ixion is reported to have written a *Commentary* on both Homer and Hesiod.[196] Accius touched on the problem of the relative date of the two poets in his *Didascalica*, and among Aristonicus' grammatical works is one on the critical signs in the *Theogony* of Hesiod and in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.[197] According to Gellius, Plutarch wrote a

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[186] Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 6.2.26, Joseph. *Contra Apion*. 1.16.

[187] Arist. fr. 565 R. (*Orchomenian Constitution*), and 143 R. (Ἀπορήματα).

[188] Heracl. fr. 22 Wehrli (ap. Diog. L. 5.87), Chamael. fr. 46 Wehrli (ap. Diog. L. 5.92).

[189] Alcid. in *Cert*. 13–14, Eph. 70 F 1.

[190] Zeno fr. 167 SVF i.43, Philoch. 328 F 210, 213.

[191] Schol. Dion. Thrac. p. 448.6 Hilg., Suda s.v. Ἑκαταῖος. Nothing else is known about these works.

[192] Cf. schol. on *Th*. $5b^2$, 116c, and Suda s.v. Ζηνόδοτος.

[193] The existence of the critical edition of the *Theogony* by Aristophanes is inferred from the schol. on *Th*. 68, see Pfeiffer 1968:177, and West 1978:64f. Cf. also schol. on *Th*. 126 by Aristophanes.

[194] Eratosth. in *Cert*. 14, in Str. 1.2.14 (23) and in *Vita Romana*.

[195] Cf. schol. on *Th*. 76, 114–115, 138, 253a Di Gregorio; schol. on *Op*. 97a, 207–212, 740a Pertusi; Pfeiffer 1968:220, and West 1978:65 with references.

[196] Suda s.v. Δημήτριος: ἔγραψε δὲ πολλά· /- - -/ εἰς Ὅμηρον ἐξήγησιν, εἰς Ἡσίοδον ὁμοίως.

[197] Accius in Gell. *NA* 3.11.4f., Suda s.v. Ἀριστόνικος.

(now lost) *Commentary on Hesiod*, and he certainly referred frequently to the poet's life, reputation, works, and date.[198] Also Pausanias mentions Hesiod's life and works many times.[199] Another commentary on Hesiod is known to have been written by Dionysius of Corinth (an epic poet of the Roman period),[200] and also by both Proclus and Tzetzes. In addition to the commentary, the latter two authors wrote also a *Prolegomena*, *Vita Hesiodi*, and many scholia on the poet's works.[201]

7. *The date of Hesiod*

Hesiod was too important a poet and linked with too important figures in Greek story-telling to be left out from the chronological system when it was in the making. The discussion about his date was in full swing already in the time we have the earliest chronographical accounts in Greek historiography. We hear the opinions about his date from Xenophanes, Hellanicus, Damastes, Pherecydes, Herodotus, Heracleides Ponticus, Ephorus, the *Marmor Parium*, Apollodorus, Eusebius, *et al.*,—practically no writer on early chronology could ignore the question of Hesiod's date. However, the chronographers of the Classical period seem to have had nothing much to go on while trying to establish Hesiod's time, apart from his poems and the stories which linked him with "historical" and therefore perhaps datable events and persons.

At first, they tried the much used standard method and looked for the clues in the poet's own works. As we know, Hesiod claims in the *Works* that he had sailed to the funeral games of Amphidamas the king of Chalcis on Euboea and participated in the song contest there.[202] According to the *Certamen* and Plutarch, Amphidamas was killed in a sea-battle in

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[198] Gell. *NA* 20.8.7, cf. Plut. *Numa* 4.6, *Thes*. 3.2, *Mor*. 157ef, 402e–403a, 162c–f, 415cd, 674f–675a, 730f, 736e, 105d, 984d, 969e, fr. *25, 82, 84 Sandbach.

[199] Cf. Paus. 1.2.3., 2.26.7, 5.26.2, 9.27.2f., 5, 9.28.9f., 9.30.2f., 9.31.3, 4–6, 9.35.5, 9.38.1–4, 10.7.2f.

[200] Suda s.v. Διονύσιος Κορίνθιος.

[201] Proclus: *Vita Hesiodi*, *Vita Homeri*, Suda s.v. Πρόκλος, *Prolegomena* and scholia in Gaisford's edition of Hesiod. Tzetzes: *Chil*. 12.157–166, 13.649, *Exegesis* and scholia in Gaisford. There many extant scholia on Hesiod's works also from other authors, for example, by Apollonius of Rhodes (on *Th*. 26b), Crates (*Th*. 126, 142), Didymus (*Th*. 126, *Op*. 304b), Seleucus (*Th*. 114–115, 160, 270, 573, *Op*. 96a, 150b, 549a, *Scut*. 415), Comanus (*Op*. 97a), etc.

[202] *Op*. 654–657.

the course of the Lelantine War.[203] It is possible that Plutarch and others linked Amphidamas with the Lelantine War arbitrarily, simply taking this figure of the ancient hero from the *Works* and placing him into the context of an ancient war[204] or they may have, perhaps, confused two men of the same name, and Hesiod's Amphidamas may have been, for example, a relative, grandfather, or grandson of Plutarch's Amphidamas.[205] Alternatively, there may have been a tradition independent of the *Works and Days*, a history (known to Plutarch) which linked the same Amphidamas whom Hesiod mentions to the Lelantine War. However, if this tradition existed, it must have been chronographically useless, since ancient authors seem not to have a clue when exactly the Lelantine War took place, or when Amphidamas lived, except that it happened in Hesiod's lifetime.[206]

Consequently, chronographers had to turn to other stories. The person with whom Hesiod most often was synchronised is Homer. The opinion that they were contemporaries was current from the first half of the fifth century at latest.[207] The synchronism between Hesiod and Homer relies, however, on the story of their contest at the funeral games of Amphidamas, which took chronographers into a vicious circle and did not help to find the date for Hesiod.

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[203] *Cert.* 6, Plut. *Mor.* 153f and fr. 84 Sandbach.

[204] In the end of the eighth century (where the Lelantine War is usually located) Chalcis was under the rule of the aristocratic family Hippobotae (Arist. ap. Str. 10.1.8 (447)), and the fact that Amphidamas is called βασιλεύς in the *Certamen* has troubled some commentators (cf. for example Cary in CAH[1]:iii.621). But Amphidamas may well have held the title βασιλεύς as a member of the Hippobotae, and not as a true monarch (West 1966:44 n. 2).

[205] Thus Janko 1982:94.

[206] Thucydides says that the first sea-battle took place about two hundred and sixty years before the end of the Peloponnesian War (1.13.3–4), i.e. about 664 or 680 (cf. Hornblower 1991:44–45, Gomme 1998:122). As Amphidamas was said to have died in a sea-battle (Plut. fr. 84 Sandbach), this ought to be later than this date, if Thucydides was correct. The second part of the seventh century is a lower date than usually is suggested for the Lelantine War. Usually the war is placed around the end of the eighth and the beginning of the seventh century, although the consensus is not too strong. About the Lelantine War, see Cary in CAH[1]:621–623, Boardman in CAH[2]:760–765, Burn 1929:14–37, 1960:82f. and 90–93, Bradeen 1947:223–241, Forrest 1957:160–175, Donlan 1970:131–142, Parker 1997:59–93 with bibliography, Janko 1982:94–98, Walker 2004:92–92, 156–171 and notes, *et al.*

[207] See Hellanicus' genealogy (4 F 5b) in p. 12, Hdt. 2.53, also Archemachus and Euthymenes in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.117.4, Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a, 674f–675a (in *Mor.* 105d Plutarch says that Hesiod is second to Homer in time, but it may well mean just that Hesiod was younger than Homer, their life-times overlapping), Cassius in Gell. *NA*

The way out was to derive a date for Homer from other sources and apply it to Hesiod on the grounds of the synchronism between the two poets. Herodotus says that both poets lived but four hundred years before himself, suggesting thus the date around 850, but does not explain why he chose that particular date for the poets.[208] Thucydides, the younger contemporary of Herodotus says that only a little more than four hundred years separates his time from the law-giving in Sparta, i.e. from Lycurgus.[209] Herodotus and Thucydides may have had the same 400 years in mind, derived from the old story that Lycurgus met Homer in Chios just before he returned to Sparta and began his law-giving career.[210] In that case, both poets were dated according to Lycurgus. Ephorus who is the earliest known author to report the story of the meeting of Homer and Lycurgus, had Hesiod and Homer roughly contemporaries, Hesiod being one generation older than his cousin.[211] Following the Spartan chronology according to which Lycurgus belonged to the sixth generation after Procles the ancestor of Spartan kings, Ephorus must have placed Lycurgus and Homer approximately to 870 BC.[212] His date for Hesiod, one generation earlier, must have been therefore 900 or thereabouts.[213]

17.21.3, Varro in Gell. *NA* 3.11.2, *Vita Hesiodi* 2. Also Lesches probably regarded them contemporaries, as he seems to have referred to their contest, see p. 23.

208 Hdt. 2.53. Herodotus' emphatic claim that what he has said of their date is his own opinion, indicates that a lively discussion on this matter was going on in the first part of the fifth century.

209 Thuc. 1.18.1.

210 Eph. 70 F 149.19, Ael. *VH* 13.14 (Lycurgus meets Homer and takes his poems with him to Peloponnese); Arist. fr. 611.10 R., Plut. *Lyc.* 4.3–4 (Lycurgus receives the epics from Creophylus' descendants). Cf. Pl. *Hipp.* 228bc and Ael. *VH* 8.2 (Hipparchus brings the Homeric epics to Athens), Heliod. in schol. Dion. Thrax (see Allen 1924:231,—Peisistratus collects and arranges Homer's works).

211 Eph. 70 F 1, 101a. West (1966:40) observes that until the latter part of the fourth century BC several authors named the poets in the order Hesiod—Homer: Hdt. 2.53, Hipp. 86 B 6 DK, Aristoph. *Ran.* 1032ff., Pl. *Apol.* 41a, *Rep.* 363a, 377d, 612b, Gorgias 82 B 25 DK, Hell. 4 F 5, Dam. 5 F 11, Pherec. 3 F 167. West argues that this may show the tendency to date Hesiod earlier than Homer. However, there are several other authors who name the poets in the opposite order (Homer—Hesiod): Xenoph. 21 B 11, Hellanicus, Damastes and Pherecydes *loc. cit.* (*pace* West), and Arist. fr. 75 R. Thus, the order of the names of Hesiod and Homer in the works of ancient authors is not regular.

212 See Jacoby's commentary to 70 F 223. Another account from Ephorus (70 F 102) leads to this period as well: Homer lived 100 years before the first Olympic Games, i.e. *ca.* 877/876.

213 There is no reason to believe that Ephorus synchronized Hesiod directly with Lycurgus. The person whom he connected with the Spartan law-giver was Homer, and

According to the *Marmor Parium*, Homer lived 643 years before the *Marmor*'s base date of 264/63, thus in 907/06 B.C, and Hesiod about 30 years (one generation) earlier than Homer, in the year of 937.[214] The latter figures are in the same relation as the ones in Ephorus, only with a shift of one generation earlier. Therefore, the *Marmor*'s dates are based probably on Ephorus' calculations and on the synchronisms Homer—Lycurgus, and Homer—Hesiod.[215]

Also Apollodorus synchronized Homer with Lycurgus. He accepted Eratosthenes' dates for the Trojan War (1184) and the Ionian migration (1044) but he did not accept his date of Homer (1084).[216] Instead, he put Homer's *akme* a hundred years after the Ionian migration, to 944, probably in order to preserve the synchronism between Homer and Lycurgus.[217] If Homer's *akme* was in 944, he had to be born around 984 and the year of his death would have been around 914.[218] Apollodorus' date for Hesiod's death is 777/76, i.e. 137 years after Homer's death.[219] Since Hesiod does not mention the Olympic Games in his poetry, the 777/76 may have been regarded as the latest possible date for Hesiod.[220] If Hesiod died in 777, his *akme* must have been around 807, and his birth around 847.[221]

since he placed Hesiod in the previous generation from Homer, he must have believed that Hesiod lived one or two generations earlier than Lycurgus.

214 *Marmor* Ep. 28, 29. Another author who held (for unknown reasons) Hesiod to be earlier than Homer, was L. Accius (ap. Gell. *NA* 3.11.2).

215 See Jacoby's commentary to *Marmor* 239 F 28–29, and Mosshammer 1979:195–196. Moreover, on the *Marmor* Homer's name stands immediately before Pheidon the king of Argos, whose date is most probably synchronised with Lycurgus. See Kõiv 2001:343.

216 About Eratosthenes' calculations, see p. 49 n. 225.

217 Apollod. 244 F 63.

218 Jacoby 1902:100, Mosshammer 1979:194–195.

219 Apollod. 244 F 333 ap. Solin. 40.16–17. See Jacoby 1902:118 ff., Mosshammer 1979:194 f. Jacoby has suggested (1902:121), that Apollodorus reached the conviction that Homer was earlier than Hesiod by comparing their knowledge of geography: cf. Str. 8.3.6–7 (339–340). Other authors who regarded Homer as earlier than Hesiod: Xenoph. 21 B 13, Arist. fr. 76 R., Philoch. in Gell. *NA* 3.11.2, Heracl. Pont. in *Vita Hom.* vi, Poseidon. ap. Tz. *Exeg. in Il.* p. 19.1, Cic. *Cat. mai.* 54, Plut. *Mor.* 105d (but cf. *Mor.* 153f–154a and 674f–675a), Porph. ap. Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος, Procl. *Chrest.* p. 101 Allen, Velleius 1.7.1, *Vita Hesiodi* 2.

220 Thus Jacoby 1902:120, followed by Mosshammer (1979:195). Cf. Solin. 40.17: *inter quem (sc. Homerum) et Hesiodum poetam, qui in auspiciis olympiadis primae* (777/76) *obiit, centum triginta octo anni interfuerunt.*

221 Provided that his life-time was about 70 years, as it was believed to have been in Homer's case (see Mosshammer 1979:195). If Hesiod reached extreme old age, as the proverb τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας suggests, say, to be 100 years old, his birth-date would go up to the first quarter of the ninth century.

Eusebius had two dates for Hesiod: 809 and 767/6 (Ol.3.2). The first coincides closely with the Apollodoran *akme* for Hesiod and is probably based on it.[222] The other date, 767/6 for Hesiod, is probably based on Sosibius' calculation, according to which Homer *floruit* in the eighth year of Charillus' reign (867/6),—exactly one hundred years before the Eusebian date for Hesiod.[223] Therefore, also this opinion has its roots in the synchronism between Homer and Lycurgus.[224]

Cassius, on the other hand, believed the poets to have lived more than 160 years after the fall of Troy. 160 years in question is probably four generations (4 × 40), and four generations was the span of time which was usually assumed to have been between fall of Troy and the start of the Ionian migration. Therefore, Cassius' date may refer to the date 1044 BC which Eratosthenes calculated for the Ionian migration,—another event Homer was frequently synchronized with.[225] Among those who believed that Homer lived at the time of the Ionian migration, was Aristotle.[226] For Hesiod he had, however, a much later date as he accepted the story that Stesichorus was his son.[227] Aristotle synchronized Stesichorus with

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222 Apollod. 244 F 333. Eusebius used Porphyry as his source, see Porph. 260 F 19. According to the Suda, Porphyry dated Homer 132 years before the first Olympiad, or 275 years after the Trojan War which makes 909 BC (1184–275 = 777 + 132). Porphyry computed 407 years between the fall of Troy and the first Olympiad (Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος). He also accepted 100 years as an interval between Homer and Hesiod, and therefore 809 BC resulted as an *akme* for Hesiod. See Mosshammer 1979:193 ff.

223 Sosibius 595 F 2.

224 Jacoby 1902:115–116, Mosshammer 1979:196.

225 Cassius in Gell. *NA* 17.21.3. In calculating the date of the Trojan War, Eratosthenes (241 F 1) used the list of Spartan kings, which goes back to the return of the Heracleids. The first king in that list is Eurysthenes, whose reign began in 1104. Knowing from Thucydides (1.12.3) that the Heracleids returned to Peloponnese eighty years (two generations) after the fall of Troy, Eratosthenes fixed the last year of the Trojan War in 1184 (1104 + 80). The Ionian migration took place two thirty-years-long generations after the return of the Heracleids, thus 1044 (1104 – 2 × 30). See Jacoby 1902:75–80. Eratosthenes' date for Homer was one hundred years after the Trojan War (241 F 9ab with Jacoby's commentary *ad loc.*).

The *Vita Hesiodi* 2 transmits an opinion that Hesiod lived at the beginning of the thirty-five years long archonship of Archippus, and Homer at the end of it. According to Castor of Rhodes (250 F 4.19–20), however, Archippus' rule lasted nineteen years, starting in 1013/2, and the reign of his father Acastus lasted 36 years, implying thus that the date of the poets in the source of *Vita Hesiodi* may originally have perhaps referred to the time of Acastus instead of Archippus. This would lead us again to the synchronism Homer—Ionian migration. Hesiod's date would be one generation or about thirty years earlier, *ca.* 1079 BC

226 Arist. fr. 76 R, and also Aristarch. in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.117 and in [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* ii. Cf. also Bacchyl. fr. 48 Sn.-M., "the school of Crates" in [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* ii.

227 Arist. fr. 76, 565 R. Aristotle did not, therefore, accept the strand of tradition that the poet Hesiod contested with at Chalcis, was Homer. See also above, p. 25. Euthymenes

Phalaris the tyrant of Acragas, which was was founded a little before 580 BC[228] Therefore, Stesichorus' *akme* would fall in the first part of the sixth entury, around 580–570 BC.[229] Consequently, Hesiod, if he fathered Stesichorus, must have lived in the latter part of the seventh century according to Aristotle's calculation.[230] With Hesiod Aristotle synchronized the Pythagorean or Orphic poet Cercops.[231]

We can see that ancient authors used in their search for the date of Hesiod mainly the story of the song contest which gave the synchronism Hesiod-Homer, and the story of Hesiod's death which linked him with Stesichorus. For Homer's date they used either the synchronism between him and Lycurgus (whose date was usually calculated according to the chronology of the Spartan kings) or followed the account that Homer was born at the time of the Ionian migration. Since the stories about Stesichorus, Homer and Lycurgus suggested diverse chronologies, the dates the chronographers derived for Hesiod were contradictory, covering the span of time from the tenth to the seventh century.

Modern commentators cling to the reference about Amphidamas in the *Works* and his alleged link to the Lelantine War as to almost the only existing hint to the real date of the poet.[232] Nothing certain is known about the war, except that it took place between Eretria and Chalcis

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(4th c. BC) said that the poets (whom he apparently believed to have been contemporaries) lived two hundred years (or 5 × 40 generations) after the fall of Troy, which may be the Aristotelian *akme* for Homer (Euthym. 242 F 1 ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.117.4).

[228] Stesichorus warned the Himereans against giving military authority to Phalaris (*Rhet.* 2.1393b8–22). Aristotle had studied Phalaris' tyranny: see *Pol.* 1310b. Other sources too locate Stesichorus usually between the second part of the seventh century to the first part of the sixth century, see p. 79 below. The foundation of Acragas: Thuc. 6.4.4, see also Burn 1960:149, Dunbabin 1948:137, 305–310. Aristotle, to whom this foundation date was accessible in the writings of Antiochus of Syracuse or in Thucydides, is not likely to have placed Stesichorus any earlier than that (Huxley 1974:208).

[229] For more about Stesichorus' date see p. 79 below.

[230] Kõiv, in his *A note on the dating of Hesiod* (yet unpublished), has pointed out that the middle part of the seventh century for Hesiod (suggested by Aristotle) may have been supported by an opinion that Homer flourished at the time of Archilochus and Gyges (see Tatian. *adv. Graec.* 31, Theopompus 115 F 205, Euphorion in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.117). Accordingly, his song contest with Hesiod must also have taken place at that time. Archilochus reference to the "lords of Euboea" (fr. 3 W) may have led to the synchronism between Archilochus and the Lelantine war. Since Archilochus was known as a contemporary of Gyges (fr. 19), a set of synchronisms was formed between Hesiod, Homer, the Lelantine war, Archilochus and Gyges. More about the synchronism Archilochus-Gyges in p. 111 below.

[231] Arist. fr. 75 R.

[232] There have been doubts, however, whether Amphidamas was a historical person at all, see Cary in CAH[1] iii:621, Boardman in CAH[2] iii.1:761.

who both had many allies.[233] The war is thought to have arisen out of colonising activity, and has been dated by combining Plutarch's reference that Amphidamas took an active part in a sea-battle with Aristotle's statement that most of the fighting between Chalcis and Eretria was done by cavalry.[234] Both, active kings and the beginning of the usage of cavalry in a battle point to the 8th century. According to ancient authors, there were several conflicts between different colonies in the latter part of the 8th century, which might have been linked to this war.[235] All the signs of conflict and collaboration seem to have ranged between about 735 and 704, and the end of the 8th century is now often accepted as the date of the Lelantine War.[236] Therefore, if Amphidamas took part in this war and was a contemporary of Hesiod, then we have *ca.* 700 BC for the latest date for Hesiod.

Hesiod as the author of the *Works and Days* (and the *Theogony*) has been placed at the end of the 8th century on the base of style and diction of the poems as well. It has been argued that although Hesiod used Homeric vocabulary and formulae, his way of thinking is closer to the early philosophers and lyric poets than to Homer. Consequently, it has been suggested that Hesiod composed his poems later than Homer.[237] These considerations, however, have lost much of their value, as it has been pointed out that both Hesiod and Homer used common formulae from the oral epic tradition.[238] In addition, the *terminus ante* 700 BC for Hesiod has been conjectured on the basis of the (possible) imitations and allusions to his poetry made by the poets of the 7th century (Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, Semonides of Amorgus), but most of the parallels may simply be formulaic phrases from the oral tradition.[239] West has argued for a slightly later *terminus ante quem* for Hesiod, namely the beginning of the 7th century, on the grounds that the first certain imitation of Hesiod is made only by Alcaeus.[240] West suggests the interval approximately

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233 Thuc. 1.15.3, Hdt. 5.99. Cf. Forrest 1957:160–175, Cary in CAH[1] iii:621–623, Burn 1960:82, Boardman in CAH[2] iii.1:760–765.

234 Plut. *Mor.* 153f, Arist. *Pol.* 1289b36. See Forrest 1957, Parker 1997, Walker 2004.

235 Hdt. 5.99, 6.4, 1.18, Plut. *Mor.* 760e–761a, 293b, Paus. 1.44. Cf. Forrest 1957:161 ff., Cary in CAH[1] iii:621 ff.

236 See p. 46 n. 206.

237 RE s.v. *Hesiodos*.

238 West 1995:203–204, *et al.*

239 RE s.v. *Hesiodos*; Janko 1982:96.

240 Alc. fr. 347 ~ *Op.* 582–589. West adds, however, that there are several earlier probable or possible allusions: Epimenides (fr. 1 ~ *Th.* 26), Mimnermus (fr. 6.1 ~ *Op.* 91, fr. 12.3 ~ *Th.* 670), Semonides of Amorgus (fr. 6 ~ *Op.* 702–703, fr. 7.94–97 ~ *Th.* 592,

between 730–690 for the date of Hesiod. On the base of linguistic considerations Janko has brought Hesiod (or the works ascribed to Hesiod) down to an even a later time, the first half of the 7th century.[241]

8. *Formulaic themes and Orphic/Pythagorean influences in Hesiod's tradition*

Formulaic themes

Several traditional topics were mentioned in the section about the story of Hesiod's death: the misinterpreted oracle, the poet as a healer, the animal-helpers, exceptionally long life, and the tendency to associate famous poets with each other in biographical traditions. In addition to those, however, there are still more formulaic themes found in the tradition of Hesiod.

One of these is the divine origin of Hesiod. His father's ancestors were allegedly Atlas, Poseidon, Apollo, Calliope and Orpheus, and his grandfather on his mother's side was Apollo.[242] It is not surprising to find Orpheus, Apollo and Calliope, the divinities connected to poetry and song, among Hesiod's ancestors. Orpheus may, on the other hand, have been inserted in the lineage of Hesiod by the Orphic poets who seem to have had an important role in developing Hesiod's biographical tradition. The reason for the inclusion of Atlas and Poseidon in Hesiod's pedigree remains obscure. It is worth mentioning, however, that Zeus does not figure in any surviving genealogy of Hesiod, which means that ancient authors probably did not understand *Op*. 299 (Πέρση, δῖον γένος ...) as a reference to Zeus as an ancestor of Perses and Hesiod.[243] Hesiod's genealogies contain also Chariphemus the *oikistes* of Cyme, and poets Linus, Melanopus, and Homer.

Another motif in the tradition of Hesiod common to the traditions of other poets and also of heroes is his father's forced leaving or fleeing from his home town Cyme in Asia Minor; especially if the departure

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600), Tyrtaeus (fr. 6.3–6 ~ *Op*. 399–400, fr. 9.43 ~ *Op*. 291) and Archilochus (fr. 118 ~ *Th*. 120–122), see West 1966:40.

[241] *Ca*. 680–660 BC (Janko 1982:200, cf. his discussion of Hesiod's date on the base of the date of Lelantine War and allusions made by Semonides in pp. 94–98).

[242] Orpheus was Hesiod's forefather in Hellanicus *et al*. genealogy (4 F 5, 5 F 11, 3 F 167). Atlas: in the Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος, Poseidon, Apollo, and Calliope: in *Cert*. 3 and 4.

[243] *Pace* West 1978:232 *ad* v. 299.

was caused not by "wretched poverty" as Hesiod himself explains, but because of a murder of a kinsman as the Cymean historian Ephorus has claimed.[244] True, in myths the person exiled is usually the hero himself and in Hesiod's case it was the father of the "hero," but the motif is recognisably the same.[245]

A common feature in traditions of seers and poets is their poetic or mantic initiation, like that of Hesiod by the Muses,—see, for example, the stories about Homer, Stesichorus, Archilochus.[246]

Taking part in song contests is another recurring feature in the stories of the seers and poets. Of course, it is expected that good poets had competitions, but since Hesiod's opponent at the contest was traditionally the most famous poet of all times, Homer, the story comes closer to archetypal legend. We know the parallel stories of two other great epic poets, Arctinus and Lesches, competing in song, and of two important seers, Calchas and Mopsus, having a riddle-competition in Clarus near Colophon.[247] Aristophanes tells about the competition of Aeschylus and Euripides, which may indicate that stories of contests between the highly esteemed poets were common enough in the tradition of poetic biography.[248]

Virgil informs us that Hesiod could charm ash trees down the mountain sides with his song, possessing thus power over natural phenomena.[249] Comparable accounts are found in traditions of Orpheus, Melanopus, Amphion, Pythagoras and Homer.[250] Hesiod was actually referred to as a seer: according to Pausanias, the Boeotians believed that the poet had learnt seercraft from the Acarnanians.[251]

And finally, Hesiod lives up to the poets' reputation of dying under unusual circumstances: he was killed by the brothers of the girl he loved. Other poets' fate was not better: Orpheus was torn to pieces by the Thracian maenads, Homer died of sadness over failure to solve a riddle, Aeschylus was killed by a falling tortoise, Euripides was torn apart and

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244 Eph. 70 F 100.
245 For examples and references see p. 211.
246 For more see p. 208.
247 Phaenias 299 F 18, Hes. fr. 278 MW. More in p. 210.
248 Aristoph. *Ran.* 830 ff.
249 Verg. *Eclog.* 6.67–71.
250 See p. 214.
251 Paus. 9.31.5.

eaten by the descendants of the Macedonian hounds, Anacreon was choked by a grape-seed, Hipponax starved to death, Sappho commited suicide, and so on.[252]

Orphic and Pythagorean influences in Hesiod's tradition

As is noted above, the story of Hesiod's death seems to have been closely connected to Orphic stories and derives possibly from the *Peplos*, composed probably close to the end of the Archaic era.[253] Considering this against the background of other apparently Orphic and Pythagorean traits in Hesiod's biography, it seems probable that this account was essentially shaped by Orphic or Pythagorean poets. There are several small details in Hesiod's tradition which cumulatively may point to Orphic origin. First, Orpheus figures in Hesiod's genealogies.[254] Secondly, several book-titles can be found in both: the *Descent into Hades* was ascribed to Hesiod, Orpheus, or to a Sicilian Orphic poet Orpheus of Camarina.[255] The *Theogony* and *Astrology* were too sometimes ascribed to the latter poet.[256] Even the *Works* figure in both traditions: according to Proclus and Tzetzes, Hesiod composed his poem because he did not agree with the *Georgia* written by Orpheus.[257] Next, a Pythagorean called Cercops is recorded to have criticized Hesiod in his lifetime.[258] We know that Hesiod's body was brought to land at the time of the feast of Ariadne.[259] Since Ariadne was the wife of Dionysus the god so important to the Orphic poets, the allusion to her in the story may not be

[252] For more see p. 217.
[253] See p. 28.
[254] See the genealogies by Hellanicus and the *Certamen* in p. 12 and 13, and also Charax' genealogy of Homer in p. 15.
[255] Suda s.v. Ὀρφεύς and Ὀρφεὺς Καμαριναῖος. See also DGRBM s.v. *Orpheus*.
[256] Suda s.v. Ὀρφεὺς Καμαριναῖος.
[257] *Vita Hesiodi* 8 (Proclus), p. 9 Gaisford: ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν τοῦ μεγάλου Ὀρφέως ἔργων καὶ ἡμερῶν, ἤτοι τῶν περὶ γεωργίας. See frr. 768–776 Bernabé about Orphic *Georgia*, and also frr. 753–767 and 216 Bernabé about the Orphic *Ephemerides* and Orphic personification of Dike (cf. *Op*. 256–262). In Tzetzes' version of the *Vita Hesiodi* (ch. 18, p. 20 Gaisford) the beginning of the *Georgia* is given. Since it matches with the beginning of Maximus' poem Περὶ Καταρχῶν, several modern commentators have concluded that Maximus' poem became attached to Orpheus in late antiquity, see Hermann 1805:viii, Kroll in RE s.v. *Maximus* (vol. xiv:2575), Wilamowitz 1930:250, West 1983:37. Lobeck (1829:i.2.423–424 with n. [m]) and Kern (1922:268) have suggested that Maximus plagiarized the old Orphic *Georgia*.
[258] Arist. fr. 75 R. About Cercops see above p. 42 n. 178.
[259] Alcid. in *Cert*. 14.

entirely insignificant. Besides Hesiod, also Arion the "inventor" of the dithyramb, a choral lyric genre connected with the worship of Dionysus, was brought to land by dolphins.[260] Moreover, according to a legend, Dionysus himself once changed the pirates who wanted to rob him into dolphins.[261] Thus, the reference to dolphins in the story of Hesiod's death may be, perhaps, a trace of an Orphic tradition of Dionysus. And finally, in the Orphic context also Clymene, the name of Hesiod's mother may have been a significant name. According to Pherecydes, Clymene was one of the daughters of Minyas. Her sisters were Periclymene, Eteoclymene and Persephone,—variability which points to the synonymous meaning of the names.[262] Lasus refers to the link between Clymene (Persephone/Core) and the Realm of Death, saying that Core was a wife of Clymenus, i.e. Hades; and Persephone was believed to be the mother of the Orphic god Dionysus-Zagreus.[263] Additionally, as has been discussed above, the reference to Hesiod's double youth and a double burial sounds Orphic or Pythagorean. Could it be that there was a tradition that Hesiod died, went to Hades and came back to this world as he was given another life? The story would at least in some points remind one of Theseus' and Peirithous' descent to Hades, which was believed to be the topic of one of the poems ascribed to both Hesiod and Orpheus. Cf. also Pythagoras' descent to Hades where he saw the souls of Hesiod and Homer being tortured for what they had said about gods.[264] One more possible hint to the Pythagorean influence is found in Homer's genealogy by Charax, which includes a name Euphemus recorded also in Iamblichus' list of early Pythagoreans.[265] Even though Hesiod is not mentioned in Charax' genealogy, it is certainly the same Cymean lineage known by Hellanicus and others.

The Orphics and the Pythagoreans as the compilers of theogonies were certainly highly interested in Hesiodic theogonic poetry.[266] They must have known it well, and may also have preserved, performed and transmitted it in some way.[267] Their attention may have consequently

[260] Pi. *O.* 13.18–19, Hell. 4 F 86, Arist. fr. 677 R.
[261] See *HyDion.* (7); Pi. fr. 236; Eur. *Cyclops* 11, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.37–38 etc.
[262] Pherec. 3 F 104b.
[263] Lasus ap. Athen. 14.624e, fr. 210 Kern.
[264] Hieron. Rhod fr. 42 Wehrli, ap. Diog. L. 8.21.
[265] *VP* 63, see also p. 65.
[266] See also Bruno Currie 2006.
[267] Cf. also the possible references to the Hesiodic school by Aristotle (*Met.* B 4 p. 1000 a 9) and Pollux (5.42).

turned also to the author of these works, and the biograpical tradition of Hesiod, or part of it, may have been shaped by the Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans in South Italy in the latter part of the sixth century BC.[268] The Orphic/Pythagorean version of Hesiod's life must have contained at least the story of Hesiod's origin (cf. the Orphic genealogy of the poet, which may be influenced by the Pythagorean idea of metempsychosis) and the story of his death (including the assumption that Stesichorus was his son).[269]

9. *Two modern views on the tradition of Hesiod*

Similarly to other biographical traditions about early poets, the tradition of Hesiod has usually been studied exclusively from the point of view of its reliability as a source for obtaining historical data about the poet. Much less attention has been devoted to the tradition itself, although it seems vital to assess its formation and development if we want to estimate its validity;—one cannot evaluate a source without first investigating its origin and nature.

Two scholars, Mary Lefkowitz and Robert Lamberton, have taken a deeper look into the nature and origin of the Hesiodic biographical tradition. Lefkowitz suggests that Hesiod has provided a "professional" biography in his works, and that he mentioned only those facts of his life which in some way could prove helpful to demonstrate to Perses and the audience the right way of living, and to explain why they ought to trust his advice, i.e. from where he obtained his knowledge. According to Lefkowitz, the Perses of Hesiod's poem is an ideal person, a Silent Listener, to whom the *Works and Days*, a poem about the need for justice and hard work in human life, is addressed. Lefkowitz proceeds saying that the father of Hesiod and Perses is mentioned only as an exemplum of a man who earns a living by merchant shipping. Hesiod has no intention of describing himself as a person: his aim is merely to establish his poetic authority. The biographers of Hesiod, wishing to increase the importance of the poet and to create a more personal account of his life, took advantage of clues they found in the poems, added some material (invented by

[268] Cf. the influence of Theagenes on the development of Homer's biographical tradition, see p. 24 n. 73.

[269] Cf. the numerous biographical links with the Pythagoreans in the tradition of Stesichorus, see p. 82.

them or earlier authors), elaborated and expanded the stories, and gradually built up the biography. Thus, according to Lefkowitz, the development of the biographical tradition of Hesiod was a prolonged process, which began in the fifth century when Thucydides mentions that Hesiod was believed to have died by fulfilling the prediction of an oracle; and had, according to an epigram attributed to Pindar, lived a second life.[270] Lefkowitz suggests that the biography was in its main part established by the second century AD, and embellished further to the very end of antiquity.[271]

However, several aspects in Lefkowitz' argumentation can be questioned. According to her, Alcidamas (4th c. BC) extended the passage in *Op.* 650–662 about the song contest in Chalcis to make it the contest between Hesiod and Homer. Other scholars have, however, traced the story back to the fifth and sixth century.[272] Furthermore, Plutarch appears to quote the cyclic poet Lesches in connection with the contest, which would take the story back to the seventh century.[273] Secondly, Lefkowitz suggests that the story of the poet's death, which was based on *Op.* 270–273 and on the reference of Thucydides, was elaborated by Alcidamas, and further by Aristotle and Philochorus, who added the detail that the son born to the girl Hesiod had seduced was Stesichorus.[274] The compiler of *Vita Hesiodi* points out that the source of the account which mentions Stesichorus as the son of Hesiod and Ctimene, was the author of the *Peplos*, possibly Brontinus or Zopyrus.[275] In that case, the account that Stesichorus was the son of Hesiod and the seduced girl, and most probably the whole story of the Hesiod's death, had to be known already in the 6th century, long before Alcidamas' and Thucydides' lifetime. All this suggests the possibility that there existed a much earlier version of the story than the one by Alcidamas. Also a genealogy which gives the poet's father as Dios and makes Hesiod Homer's cousin is already found in the fifth century, in Hellanicus, Damastes and Pherecydes, and not just in Ephorus (who lived about a hundred years later), as proposed by Lefkowitz.[276] Moreover, although Eratosthenes is the first to claim that

[270] Thuc. 3.06.1, Pi. ap. Suda s.v. τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας, *Vita Hesiodi* 4.

[271] Lefkowitz 1981:1–11.

[272] See p. 19 ff.

[273] Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a. About Lesches' authorship, see p. 23.

[274] Alcidamas in *Cert.* 13–14, Arist. fr. 565 R., Philoch. 328 F 213.

[275] *Vita Hesiodi* 3. About Brontinus and Zopyrus see p. 35 n. 131.

[276] Hell. 4 F 5b, Damastes 5 F 11, Pherec. 3 F 167. Also, it is not probable, *pace* Lefkowitz, that the account of the loyal dog replaced the miraculous dolphins of an earlier version, since both dog and dolphins figure in Plutarch's version and have different roles in the

the killers were the sons of Ganyctor, Ganyctor himself already figures in the version known by Aristotle as one of the murderers of the poet and a son of Phegeus.[277] Furthermore, a Ganyctor is known from the Euboean tradition as the son of the Chalcidean king Amphidamas and as one of the judges of the contest of Hesiod and Homer.[278] If the story of the contest has its beginnings in the sixth or seventh century as is argued above, then Ganyctor is hardly an invention of the late Classical scholars.[279] Altogether, it seems that Lefkowitz has several times ignored or over-readily dismissed the data that point to an earlier dating of the tradition than she is inclined to posit.

A different, analytical view on the development of Hesiod's biographical tradition is taken by Robert Lamberton.[280] He argues that the Hesiodic poems are a creation of many anonymous illiterate improvising singers who manipulated and rearranged traditional material, eventually developing it into something close to what we have. These poems, originally produced by oral poets, were written down, performed and transmitted by non-creative rhapsodes. The poems were originally anonymous and not connected to any special region, just like the Homeric poems. The singers who performed the poems ascribed to Hesiod would have told stories about their alleged author to the audience, and so, on the basis of more or less authentic tradition, or simply owing to the creative imagination of the rhapsodes, many different short biographies were formed. Hesiod in the poems is a figure of convention rather than a historical individual and was not originally linked with the poems. He entered the texts as we know them with the proems, which contain most of the autobiographical data (the poet's name, for example), topographic references (Boeotian toponyms, except for Ascra and Helicon) and Muse-cult material. Lamberton suggests that the proems (and Hesiod) were attached to the text of the poems only in the Hellenistic period, after

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story. The dog recognizes the murderers, the dolphins carry the body of Hesiod to the shore.

[277] Eratosth. fr. 19 Powell, Arist. fr. 565 R. About the story of Hesiod's death see p. 25.

[278] *Cert.* 6.

[279] Lefkowitz says: "Plutarch's views about Hesiod's date caused him to remove from his text as 'nonsense' Hesiod's account of the contest at Chalcis and the dedication of his tripod (fr. 84 Sandbach)." In fact, in *Mor.* 153f–154a and in *Mor.* 674f–675a Plutarch explicitly says that the contest took place in Chalcis, at the funeral games of Amphidamas, between no one else but Homer and Hesiod, and thus seems to regard the poets as contemporaries and the passage in *Op.* as a genuine part of Hesiod's work.

[280] Lamberton 1988:3–48.

the Thespians had established the festival of the Muses in Helicon, and institutionalised the poems and the persona of their singer. Once that had happened and the powerful institution was constantly reminding the Hellenistic reading public of the association of Hesiod, the Muses and Boeotian topography, a convenient biography was selected for the occasion among the many short, early rhapsodic biographies, and it was further elaborated and eventually transmitted as part of the text of the poems.

There again are inaccuracies in the argument. Not all autobiographical information in Hesiod's poems comes from proems. The account that Hesiod's father used to be a seafaring trader, and was forced to leave his native town Cyme in Aeolis and to settle in Ascra near Helicon, comes in *Op.* 630–640. The verse on the basis of which the name of Hesiod's father entered the tradition is *Op.* 299. The poet mentions his son in *Op.* 271. Lamberton claims that without the proems we no longer have a Hesiod with a special devotion to the Muses, and believes that the passage in the *Works and Days* (656 ff.) in which the poet claims to have dedicated a tripod to the Heliconian Muses and to have learned a song from them on Helicon is just an *aition* for the artefact actually displayed at the festival of the Muses. Yet, Alcidamas, who wrote about the contest between Homer and Hesiod, knew the story of how Hesiod went to Chalcis and won a tripod. Alcidamas' version (or some earlier version of the story known to him) of the contest was evidently inspired by the verses of the *Works*. Thus it seems probable that the story of the dedication of the tripod to the Muses by Hesiod was already known to Alcidamas at latest. Hence it must have been in the fourth century or earlier, and not in the Hellenistic period, that the particular verses and probably the whole *Works* as we know it were ascribed to Hesiod. Given the amount of biographical material in the poems outside the proems, it is hardly plausible that the poems remained anonymous before the establishment of the festival of the Heliconian Muses, as Lamberton claims.

10. *Conclusion*

An extensive part of the biography is undoubtedly based on the poet's own works: details such as his father's former homeland and profession and his departure from Cyme to their new home Ascra, the poet's conflict with his brother over their father's inheritance, and his participation in a song contest in Chalcis are drawn from the *Works and Days*; and, using

a traditional formulaic theme of mantic or poetic initiation, he gives an account of his encounter with the Muses in the *Theogony*.

The statements and hints in the poems were often expanded and developed into elaborate stories by later authors: the phrase δῖον γένος (*Op.* 299), for example, was interpreted as a reference to the name of the poet's father (Dios), the initiation story was enriched with numerous details, and the account of the song contest became an elaborated and multiversant story in which Hesiod triumphed in a hard trial against Homer. On the basis of Hesiod's hint of his father's Cymean origin, the chronographers linked him with Cymean mythological history and created genealogies which combined his Cymean ancestory (Dios, Chariphemus, Melanopus) with his synchronicity with Homer (which was probably based on the story of the contest), provided the name of Hesiod's mother (Pycimede), and included many important figures such as divinities Poseidon and Apollo, a Titan Atlas, nymphs Calliope and Methione, an *oikistes* Chariphemus and poets Orpheus, Melanopus and Linus. The story of Hesiod's death is originally clearly a Locrian tradition, elaborated by the Orchomenians (the second grave in Orchomenus) and the Orphic poets or Pythagoreans (cf. Hesiod's double youth, and the numerous Pythagorean allusions in tradition).

A number of details, such as Hesiod's divine origin, possibly his father's exile from Cyme, Hesiod's poetic initiation by the Muses, his exceptionally long life, his participation in the song-contest, his death in accordance with a misunderstood oracle, the helpfulness of animals in rescuing of Hesiod's body, and the beneficial powers of his remains, have a recognisably formulaic character.

It is clear from the works of Aristotle, Alcidamas and Ephorus, that the tradition as a whole was fully developed by the fourth century BC. The story of the poet's death, however, was certainly current already a century earlier (Thucydides), as well as his genealogy and his synchronicity with Homer (Hellanicus, Herodotus), and also the double youth and double grave (Pindar). Furthermore, the abundance of the formulaic elements in the tradition and their similarities with the motifs in the early traditions of other famous persons suggests that much of it was originally created and transmitted orally, possibly before literary culture began to prevail in the Classical period. It is possible that many basic points of the Hesiodic *Life*, such as origin, death, and double youth, come from the Orphic and Pythagorean authors of the sixth century.

Another early tradition about Hesiod is the story of his contest with Homer, which gave the firm basis also to the assumption that they were

contemporaries. The latter detail was undoubtedly known to Herodotus, Hellanicus, Pherecydes and Damastes. In the extant version of the story there are verses similar to those composed by Theognis in the 6th century. It is possible that these rather proverbial verses were taken from the works of Theognis and included in the story of contest. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that it was Theognis who copied the verses from the then current version of the poets' song competition. Plutarch mentions the seventh-century epic poet Lesches as his source of his version of the story of the contest at Chalcis, pointing to even earlier development of the story.

There might have existed other early stories about Hesiod which have not survived in any recognisable form, or are not datable in any degree of precision. For example we know a version of the contest of Hesiod and Homer, which took place in Delos instead of Chalcis. We cannot determine the exact time of origin of this, but it most probably existed already before the fourth century when Alcidamas in his writings secured the transmission and survival of the Chalcis-version of the story of contest. Another hint of a possible early strand of tradition comes from Ephorus who mentions murder as an alternative reason for why Hesiod's father had left Cyme to the one given in the *Works and Days*. This information may possibly be derived from some early local tradition of Cyme.

In sum, the tradition about Hesiod seems to have had three or four recognisable sources: Hesiod's own statements fixing his home, origin, family and some details of his life; local traditions such as the Cymean genealogies and Locrian account of the poet's death, elaborated by Orphic poets and the Pythagoreans; and the poetry of Lesches, or oral tradition, fixed perhaps by Theagenes, for the synchronicity and contest of Hesiod and Homer. The early biographical accounts of Hesiod were elaborated and illustrated with new details, adapted to new moral, rhetorical or allegorical purposes, and mixed with each other by later authors up to the end of antiquity, providing thus many different versions of the stories, but the core of the biographical tradition of Hesiod seems to belong to the Archaic period.

CHAPTER THREE

STESICHORUS

1. *The tradition*

Stesichorus, whom the ancients did not hesitate to call the reincarnation of Homer, was a classic already by the beginning of the fifth century. His poetry was well known, and so was the man. The common opinion held Stesichorus to have been born in Himera in Sicily, but he had connections also with Mataurus, the Locrian colony in South Italy. Tradition knew five names for his father: Euphemus, Euclides, Euphorbus, Hyetes, and Hesiod, and Clymene or Ctemene (Ctimene) for his mother. He had two brothers: a famous geometer Mamercus and Helianax the law-giver. Stesichorus was initiated into poetry by a nightingale,—at his birth the bird sat on his lips and sang a sweet song. Later in his life the poet was temporarily blinded by Helen or the Dioscuri for writing abuse about her, but after he had realised the cause of his sudden blindness, and had written two recantations or *Palinodes*, the goddess restored his sight.

Stesichorus sometimes used his position of poet and singer for shaping the political views of his fellow citizens. Once he warned the Locrians against being presumptuous "lest the cicadas sing from the ground" and another time he admonished the Himereans to reject the tyranny that Phalaris (or Gelon) tried to establish in their city. On yet another occasion he restored peace between adversaries who were drawn up and ready for battle by standing between them and singing to them.

He was called μελοποιός and λυρικός by the ancient authors, and he was known to have composed hymns, fables, bucolic songs, love songs (παίδεια or παιδικά), choral songs to the cithara and possibly also paeans. Stesichorus used old nomes such as the *Chariot* nome and some derivation of the *Orthian* nome, and was much praised for the excellence and grandeur of the settings of his subject matter, for giving his characters dignity, for his use of epithets and variety, and for thematic innovations. On the other hand, he was sometimes held redundant and extravagant, and, in the latter part of the fifth century, also old-fashioned.

At least in later antiquity, an opinion existed that the poet's true name was Tisias, Stesichorus being a nickname or professional title given to him because he was the first to set up a chorus of singers to the cithara. He is reported to have travelled around in South Italy and to some extent perhaps also on the Greek mainland. When Stesichorus was around eighty-five years old, he was killed by a robber called Hicanus, and was buried in Catana near the gate which was later called the Stesichorean Gate.

His works were known to have been compiled in twenty-six books, or rather poems, of which the titles of seventeen are attested by ancient authors. Stesichorus was usually dated to the latter part of the seventh century and the first part of the sixth century, and synchronized with Pythagoras, Simonides, Alcman, Sappho, Alcaeus, and the tyrants Pittacus and Phalaris.

The modern views

The opinions on Stesichorus' biographical tradition and its historical reliability have changed radically during the last century or so, growing more and more sceptical.[1] Still, despite the increasing pessimism, there are a few things in the tradition which seem to be accepted as historically reliable by most modern scholars. First, Stesichorus is almost unanimously thought to have come from Himera, which is the dominant view also in ancient sources. Secondly, many authorities accept the Suda's date for the poet (632–556 BC) even if admitting that it may be based on nothing more than synchronisation with other early poets.[2]

Modern commentators have been interested in some of the topics of the tradition, such as the blindness and the name of the poet, as well as Stesichorus' attitude towards tyranny, and the possibility that the poet travelled around South Italy and to the Peloponnese. The opinions on these particular issues will be discussed below in relevant sections. The development of the tradition in general, however, has been very

[1] Compare the entry "Stesichoros" in RE by Maas, and Dihle's opinion that: "... practically nothing is known about the poet's life" (1994:45). See also Lefkowitz 1981:32.

[2] DMB s.v. *Stesichorus*, OCD 2nd and 3rd eds. s.v. *Stesichorus*, Bowra 1961:74–76, Campbell 1967:253 f., West 1971a:302–306, Podlecki 1984:157, Burkert 1987:51, Dihle 1991:45, Gerber 1997:234, Kurke 200:80, Hutchinson 2001:116, *et al.* Martin West's study (1971a:302–306) of different traditional and archaeological data, which led to more or less the same result, *viz.* that Stesichorus was active around 560–540, has probably helped the Suda's date to survive.

seldom touched upon by modern authors. Only a few scholars have taken an interest in it: West has very rightly emphasized the numerous links between Stesichorean and Pythagorean traditions, and Wilamowitz noticed the existence of the separate Locrian and Himerean traditions.[3]

2. *Stesichorus' family*

Five different names for Stesichorus' father are attested in tradition: Euphemus, Euphorbus, Hyetes or Euetes, Euclides, and Hesiod. The first three seem to belong in the Pythagorean tradition. Euphemus, who is first mentioned by Plato, and later by Stephanus of Byzantium and the Suda, appears later in Iamblichus' list of early Pythagoreans, mentioned among the Metapontians with the Pythagoreans/Orphic poets Brontinus and Zopyrus who seem to have had an important role in the development of Hesiod's tradition.[4] Euphorbus as Stesichorus' father is attested only by the Suda.[5] According to the Pythagorean tradition, Euphorbus was a previous incarnation of Pythagoras, who wounded Patroclus and was himself wounded or killed by Menelaus in the Trojan War.[6] The third name for the poet's father, Hyetes in the Suda, is often emended into Euetes on the grounds that all other names for Stesichorus' father (except Hesiod) begin with Eu-. It may be relevant that Iamblichus' list includes one Euetes among the Pythagoreans from (Epizephyrean) Locris.[7]

A different tradition seems to lie behind the name Euclides as the father of Stesichorus attested on an inscription on a headless herm from Tivoli, and in the Suda.[8] According to Thucydides, Euclides was one of

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[3] West 1971a:302 f., Wilamowitz 1913:234–238, 1937:61 with n. 1.

[4] Pl. *Phaedr.* 244a, Steph. Byz. s.v. Μάταυρος, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος, and also epigr. anon. ap. Σ Pind. (1.10.12 sq. Dr.), Iambl. *VP* 63. According to Charax' genealogy (see p. 15), Homer had a great-great-great-grandfather called Euphemus (Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος). For more about Brontinus and Zopyrus see p. 35.

[5] Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.

[6] *Il.* 16.806–815, 17.9–60; Iambl. *VP* 63, Heracl. fr. 89 Wehrli, Diog. L. 8.4, see also Burkert 1972:138–141.

[7] Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. The emendation εὐέτους *pro* ὑέτους was done by Wilamowitz 1913:236 n. 2, see also West 1971a:303. Wilamowitz believed the names Euphorbus and Euetes to be erroneous derivations from Euclides and Euphemus (*ibid.*), but it is equally plausible that the names come from different traditions or versions of the traditions.

[8] IG 14.1213, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.

the founders of Himera.[9] Thus, the Himerean tradition seem to have linked the most famous poet of the city with its *oikistes*.

The information that Hesiod was the father of Stesichorus is closely linked to the Ozolean Locris' tradition of Hesiod's death.[10] It may be that Stesichorus was attached to the Ozolean Locris' story by the Epizephyrean Locrians who felt it appropriate to connect the fates of two famous poets who composed thematically similar poetry.[11] Epizephyrean Locris in South-Italy was in the sphere of influence of early Pythagoreans, whose impact on Hesiod's tradition is discussed already above.[12] The same tradition which linked Stesichorus with Hesiod provides the name of Stesichorus' mother Ctemene, Ctimene or Clymene.[13]

The existence of at least one brother of Stesichorus was known by the middle of the fifth century: according to Hippias of Elis, the brother of the poet was a well-known geometrist. Owing to the poor state of the manuscripts we cannot know for certain what Hippias (and Proclus, thanks to whom this account has come down to us) reckoned as the name of the brother, but it may have been Mamercus.[14] In later sources he was called Mamertius by Heron, and Mamertinus in the Suda.[15] The second brother of the poet was, according to Suda, Helianax the law-giver.[16] Both brothers can be associated with the Pythagoreans by profession: a law-giver and a well-known mathematician in Sicily/Italy around the middle

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[9] Thuc. 6.5.1: καὶ Ἱμέρα ἀπὸ Ζάγκλης ᾠκίσθη ὑπὸ Εὐκλείδου καὶ Σίμου καὶ Σάκωνος.

[10] P. 25 above. The references on Hesiod as Stesichorus' father are on p. 11 n. 16.

[11] It should be remembered that many more different poems were ascribed to Hesiod in antiquity than in present days, see above p. 37.

[12] See p. 54. The tradition of a family link between Hesiod and Stesichorus persisted at least until the Roman times as Cicero rejects this opinion that Hesiod was the younger poet's grandfather on chronological grounds (*De Rep.* 2.20).

[13] Ctemene: Arist. fr. 565 R., *Vita Hesiodi* 3,4. Clymene: Philoch. 328 F 213. More about Ctemene/Clymene see p. 11 and 25. Archiepe/Archiepes as the name of Stesichorus' mother: p. 11 n. 19.

[14] Hipp. 86 B 12 DK ap. Procl. *Eucl. Prolog.* 2: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (sc. Θαλῆν) [Μάμερκος] ὁ Στησιχόρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀδελφὸς ὡς ἐφαψάμενος τῆς περὶ γεωμετρίαν σπουδῆς μνημονεύεται. καὶ Ἱππίας ὁ Ἠλεῖος ἱστόρησεν ὡς ἐπὶ γεωμετρίᾳ δόξαν αὐτοῦ λαβόντος. In the oldest manuscript (M) stands ἀμερι[ο] instead of Μάμερκος to which a later hand has added μ in front of it, and corrected the *spiritus lenis* in acute, and ι in κ. Friedlein, following these corrections and the reading in another manuscript (Z), emended the name into Μάμερκος. Other readings are Ἀμέριστος (B_3, G, A) / *Ameristus* (B, cf. Z) and Μαμέρτιος (μαρμέρτιος, μαρμέτιος) (H_2). See Friedlein 1873:65, Thomas 1957:147. Davies in Stesich. TA28 in PMGF, and Campbell (2001:36) in Stesich. T 15 accept the emendation; see also Wilamowitz 1913:237 n. 3.

[15] Heron *Defin.* 136.1, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.

[16] Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. Helianax is not attested in other sources.

of the sixth century can hardly be a figure outside of the Pythagorean circle.[17] Mamercus appears elsewhere also as the name of the son of Pythagoras and Μάρμακος as the father of Pythagoras.[18]

Thus, it seems that there existed two different traditions about Stesichorus' family, as already has been pointed out by Wilamowitz.[19] First the Himerean tradition, which linked the poet to Euclides the *oikistes* of the city; and secondly the Locrian tradition, which combined the Ozolean and Epizephyrean Locrian stories about Hesiod and Stesichorus. Since Stesichorus' tradition contains some names of the early Pythagoreans (Euetes, Euphemus, Euphorbus, Mamercus) and because the Locrian tradition linked Stesichorus with Hesiod whose tradition is clearly influenced by the Pythagoreans, it is reasonable to assume that the Pythagorean features belong in the Locrian rather that Himerean tradition. Both strands of tradition and all main details about Stesichorus' family were known in the Classical period.

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[17] West 1971a:303, but see Burkert 1972:417 n. 93, who finds that the linking of Stesichorus' brother with Mamercus is built on sand.

Pythagoras was believed to have invented legislation: "He also founded another excellent kind of justice: legislation. /…/That is why the best legislators were students of Pythagoras, first Charondas of Catana, then Zaleucus and Timaratus who wrote laws for Locri, and Theaitetus and Helicaon and Aristocrates and Phytius, who were the legislators for Rhegium. All these were given honours equal to the gods by their fellow-citizens" (Iambl. *VP* 172, transl. by Clark). Cf. *ibid.* 130 which repeats the same names (with Timares *pro* Timaratus) and adds Theocles of Rhegium. Also Zalmoxis the Thracian is mentioned, he was Pythagoras' slave and, after he was set free, made laws for the Getae (*ibid.* 172).

[18] Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 2.1, *Numa* 8.9, Festus, p. 22 Lindsey, Diog. L. 8.1. In another place (p. 116 Lindsey) Festus says, however: "*Mamercus: praenomen Oscum est ab eo, quod hi Martem Mamertem appellant*."

[19] In Wilamowitz' opinion, the tradition as we know it is a mixture of the biographical traditions of three different poets with the same name. First, Stesichorus of Himera, son of Euphemus, Euclides, or Euetes (emended from Hyetes), who lived at the time of Phalaris (i.e. in the first part of the sixth century). In honour of this poet the brazen statue was set up in Thermae. The second Stesichorus, according to Wilamowitz, belongs to the Locrian tradition, and with him are associated the accounts of Mataurus, Hesiod and Ctimene as the parents of the poet, his brother Mamercus, and the story of the White Island. The third poet, who is mentioned in the *Marmor* (Ep. 73) as Stesichorus the Second, was from Himera, composed dithyrambs, and lived in the fourth century BC (Wilamowitz 1900:34 n. 3 and 4, 1913:234–238, 1937:61 with n. 1). Modern commentators have generally accepted the existence of two different poets called Stesichorus, cf. Vürtheim 1919:104–105, Edmonds 1952:22 n. 3, Page in PMG:443, West 1971:304, Campbell 1993:210–212, and ascribe to the later poet, in addition to the *Cyclops*, also the *Daphnis* and *Scylla* (Schmid-Stählin 1929:479, West 1970:206). In fact, the construction of the second (or third) poet of the same name is a frequently used device to explain chronological or

3. *Stesichorus' home and travels*

In ancient sources the most frequently mentioned city for Stesichorus' home town is Himera on the northern coast of Sicily. Among other authors, Glaucus of Rhegium, Plato and Megaclides call the poet Himerean and Aristotle tells a story how Stesichorus warned the Himereans against tyranny.[20] He was linked to Himera also through his father: Euclides of Zancle, as mentioned in the previous section, was one of the three leaders of the colonisation of Himera.[21]

Another home town attested for Stesichorus is Mataurus in South Italy, which was (according to Stephanus of Byzantium) a Locrian colony.[22] The connection with Locris provides a possible reason why the poet was linked to Mataurus: as is already said above, the link between Stesichorus and the Locrian tradition about Hesiod was probably created in Epizephyrean Locris,—possibly by the Mataurians.[23] According to Solinus, however, Mataurus/Metaurus was founded by the Zancleans.[24] This information may too have its roots in Stesichorean tradition: if Euclides of Zancle was believed to have founded Stesichorus' home town, and if, on the other hand, the poet was linked to the Locrian tradition, then his home town of Zanclean origin (Himera) may have easily become mixed up with the Locrian colony Mataurus in the tradition.

There are some accounts which suggest that Stesichorus travelled in Italy and the Greek mainland. He had warned the Locrians—presumably

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ethical difficulties by ancient authors, see, for example, *Vita Hesiodi* 3 (referring to the existence of many Homeroi) or the tradition of the second Sappho (see p. 190).

[20] Glauc. Rheg. in [Plut.] *Mus.* 7.1133ef, Pl. *Phaedr.* 244a, Megacl. (4th century BC?) ap. Athen. 12.512e–513a, Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1393b. Later accounts: *Marmor* Ep. 73 (the "Second" Stesichorus), Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.86, Conon 26 F 1.42, Paus. 3.19.9, 8.3.2, 9.2.3, 9.11.2, Ael. *VH* 10.18 and ap. Suda s.v. Θέμις, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.78, Himerius *Or.* 27.27, pp. 126f. Colonna, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος, schol. Pi. *O.* 12, IG 14.1213.

[21] Thuc. 6.5.1, *cit.* in p. 66 n. 9. Himera was founded in 649/8 BC (Diod. Sic. 13.62.4). According to Vibius Sequester (*De flum.* p. 15 Gelsomino), Stesichorus mentioned the river Himera which gave its name to the city in his poetry (270 PMG).

[22] Steph. Byz. s.v. Μάταυρος, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. Stephanus placed the city mistakenly to Sicily, probably because he knew the other tradition that Stesichorus was a Sicilian poet. Mataurus or Metaurus might, according to Dunbabin, have been founded in the seventh century, although the earliest extant remains are of the sixth century (1948:169).

[23] Of course, Stesichorus may actually have lived both in Mataurus and Himera during his life, see Smith in DGRBM p. 908, West 1971a:304. However, the information that Mataurus was a Locrian colony rests only on this particular passage of Stephanus (n. 22), and may have arisen from the belief that the parents of Stesichorus the Mataurian, Hesiod and Ctemene, had lived in Locris.

[24] Solin. 2.11, Mela 2.68.

Epizephyrean Locri in South Italy—not to prove wantons and cause their enemies (possibly the people of Rhegium) to invade their land.[25] According to *Marmor Parium*, the poet "arrived in Greece" in 485 / 4 BC, and came, according to the Suda, after he was exiled from Arcadian Pallantium, back to Sicily where he died in Catana.[26] Good poets did usually travel a lot, performing their poetry at festivals in different cities and Stesichorus probably did the same, but the only destinations of his journeys which his biographical tradition records are Pallantium, Locri, and Catana. Some modern commentators have suggested that the account that Stesichorus visited Pallantium contains historically true information, and on the grounds of the Spartan flavour of some of the fragments of Stesichorus, Bowra has proposed that the poet visited on the Greek mainland also Sparta where he may have composed the *Palinode* and *Oresteia*, and travelled perhaps to Boeotia as well.[27] Wilamowitz, however, supposes that the account of Pallantium is derived wholly from the *Geryoneis*.[28]

In sum, it seems that, as in the case of the parents, two different traditions existed also about the home town of Stesichorus: one that placed the poet in Himera and linked him with the founder of the city; and the other, Locrian tradition which claimed Stesichorus to have been the citizen of Mataurus, Southern Italy. According to ancient sources, he travelled at least in Sicily (Catana), in Southern Italy (Locri), and to some extent also on the Greek mainland (Pallantium).

4. *Stesichorus' poetry and music*

Stesichorus' poetry was certainly well known in fifth-century Athens: Simonides refers to him side by side with Homer as a celebrated storyteller of the deeds of Meleager, and several of his lines are cited or paraphrased by Aristophanes as something well known to the audience.[29] His

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[25] Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1395a.

[26] *Marmor* Ep. 50, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. Pausanias (8.3.2) says that Stesichorus mentioned Pallantium in his *Geryoneis* (182 PMG). In another fragment (181 PMG) he was said to have sung about Pholus the Centaur whose cave was in Arcadia, but not close to Pallantium—see Ruzokoki 2009:11–12.

[27] Bowra 1961:111–119. West agrees in the case of Sparta (1969:147 f., 1971:305), and so does Podlecki 1984:158–160 and Wright 2005:109. Hutchinson hesitates (2001:114 with n. 1).

[28] Wilamowitz 1913:236 f., see p. 69 n. 26 above.

[29] Sim. 564 PMG, Aristoph. *Pax* 756, 797, 800, *Nub.* 967, and scholia *ad loc.* (pp. 122,

poems are mentioned and/or cited by Isocrates, Aristoxenus, Plato, Dio Chrysostom, and others. In later antiquity an edition in twenty-six poems was available, and altogether seventeen titles of mythological and other songs of his have come down to us.[30] According to Simonides, Stesichorus composed the *Funeral Games of Pelias* about the deeds of the Argonauts.[31] At least three of his poems, the *Geryoneis*, *Cerberus*, *Cycnus*, and possibly also the *Scylla* were about the adventures of Heracles.[32] The *Boar-hunters* was probably about Meleager and the hunt of the Calydonian Boar, and the *Europeia* and *Eriphyle* about the Theban legends.[33] In his *Peace*, Aristophanes cites or refers to three lines of Stesichorus' *Oresteia*, which was a work at least in two parts, or possibly two different songs with the same title.[34] Stesichorus composed also at least two poems about the Trojan War: the *Sack of Troy*, and the *Returns*.[35] Besides

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125, 186 Holwerda). Line 967 from the *Clouds* was ascribed to Stesichorus by Chamaeleon "and others" (possibly Eratosthenes, see van Leeuwen's correction in schol. RV Aristoph. *Nub.* 967, I. 3.1.186 Holwerda), and to the early-fifth-century lyric poet Lamprocles of Athens by Phrynichus (POxy 1611.5 + 43, 274 PMGF).

[30] Suda s.v. Στησίχορος, probably meaning poems by the "books."

[31] Ἆθλα ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ: 178–180 PMG, Sim. 564 PMG. Also: Zenob. 6.44 and EM 544.54. Athenaeus (4.172de) hesitates whether the author of the Ἆθλα is Stesichorus or Ibycus.

[32] Γηρυονηίς (181–186 PMG, 7–87 SLG): Str. 3.2.11 (148), Paus. 8.3.2, Athen. 11.469e and 11.781d, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.211 (182 PMG), schol. Hes. *Th.* 287 (186 PMG), see also the fragment in Athen. 11.469e which is located in *Geryoneis* by Page (185 PMG, 17 SLG), followed by Campbell 2001:78 f. Κέρβερος: Pollux 10.152 (206 PMG). Κύκνος: schol. Pi. A *Ol.* 10.19, I 315 Dr. (207 PMG). Σκύλλη: schol. Ap. Rhod. 4.825–831g (220 PMG). Cf. also Fr. Bob (6.623 Keil) "… *Stesichorus in Sicilia*," emended "*Stesichorus in Scilla*" by West (1970:206).

[33] Συοθῆραι (221–222 PMG), ascribed to Stesichorus by Athenaeus 3.95d who cites a line from the poem. We have also a corrupt papyrus which seems to include a fragment of this poem (POxy 2359 fr. 1 = 222 PMG). Ἐυρώπεια: schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 670, 1.318 Schw. (195 PMG). Ἐριφύλη (194 PMG): Philod. *De piet.* p. 52 Gomperz, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3, Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 1.261, see also POxy 2618 fr. 1 and 3 (148 and 150 SLG). Some modern commentators have tentatively ascribed to Stesichorus also another fragment (PLille 76 + 73) on Theban themes, and suggested that it may belong in the *Thebaid* or *Seven Against Thebes* (neither title is attested in ancient sources): see Parsons 1977:7 ff., Campbell 2001:136 ff.

[34] Ὀρέστεια α΄, β΄: schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 775 (210 PMG), 800 (211 PMG), 797 (212 PMG), Philod. *De piet.*, p. 24 Gomperez (215 PMG), Athen. 12.512e, schol. Vat. in Dion. Thrac. *Art.* 6 (213 PMG), schol. *Il.* 7.76 (ii 224 Erbse), Habron ap. POxy 1087 ii 47, viii 105 G.-H. (214 PMG), cf. also POxy 29 *comm. in melicos* fr. 26 col. ii (217 PMG), and schol. Aeschyl. *Cho.* 733 (218 PMG).

[35] Ἰλίου Πέρσις (196–205 PMG, 88–132 SLG): Harpocr. s.v. καθελών (196 PMG), Paus. 10.26.1 (197 PMG), 10.27.2 (198 PMG), *Tabula Iliaca* (IG 14.1284) fr. 205., POxy 2803 fr. 1 (133 SLG), Dio Chrys. *Or.* 2.33 (203 PMG), Eustath. in *Od.* 1698.2, cf. also Athen. 13.610c, 10.456 f. Νόστοι: Paus. 10.26.1 (208 PMG), POxy 2359 fr. 1 (209 PMG). The fragments 133–147 SLG are titled as the *Wooden Horse*,—a title not mentioned in

these long mythological poems, which were possibly performed by a choir, Stesichorus composed shorter poems such as the (*Epithalamium to*) *Helen*, two *Palinodes*, love-songs (*Calyce*, *Rhadine*), and was said to have written a bucolic poem about Daphnis, hymns, fables, and possibly also paeans.[36]

Only very little is known about Stesichorus' music. The poet himself refers to his *Oresteia* as a Phrygian song, i.e. composed in the *Phrygian* mode.[37] The emotional *Phrygian* mode was extensively used, probably by both the aulodes and citharodes.[38] According to Glaucus, Stesichorus used the *Chariot* nome and the dactylic rhythm derived from the *Orthian* nome, being thus the follower of Olympus (the aulode) rather than of Orpheus, Terpander, Archilochus or Thaletas (the citharodes).[39] The *Chariot* nome was associated with auletic music and was believed to have been invented either by Olympus or the Mysian pipers.[40] The *Orthian* nome, on the other hand, was ascribed to Terpander, and possibly used in both citharodic and aulodic music.[41] Therefore, as far as we can judge on the basis of this scarce evidence, the ancient authors seem to have believed that Stesichorus composed both aulodic and citharodic music.

The ancient sources refer to Stesichorus as λυρικός, μελοποιός, μελῳδός and κιθαρῳδός.[42] The hints of his possible activity as a choral poet are found only in the Suda which says that the poet came to be called

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extant ancient sources as a work of Stesichorus. It may have been a variant title for the *Iliu Persis*, see West 1971b:262–264.

[36] Ἐπιθαλάμιον Ἑλένας (187–191 PMG): Athen. 3.81d, 10.451d, schol. A Hom. *Il.* 2.339, *Argum. Theocr.* 18, Paus. 2.22.6f., cf. also Isocr. *Hel.* 64, and Pl. *Phaedr.* 243a. Παλινῳδίαι (192–193 PMG): see the references in the note for 192 PMG. Καλύκη (277 PMG): Aristox. fr 89 Wehrli ap. Athen. 14.619de. Ῥαδίνη (101 PMG) is ascribed to Stesichorus with some doubt in Strabo 8.3.20. Rose (1932) regards *Rhadine* as a folk song, Bowra (1961:84–88) suggests that Stesichorus composed these poems based on Sicilian lore for some local cult or celebration. Cf. Lehnus 1975. Δάφνις: Ael. *VH* 10.18. Hymns: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.78.5; fables: Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1393, Conon 26 F 1.42, cf. also Crates ap. Ael. *NA* 17.37; paeans: Timae. 566 F 32.

[37] Stes. ap. Aristoph. *Pax* 797ff. (212 PMG).

[38] Later the dithyramb was usually composed in the *Phrygian* mode, see Arist. *Pol.* 1342a32–b12. See also West 1992:180f., 331ff., Barker 1989:14ff., and OED 3rd ed. s.v. *Music*.

[39] Glaucus in [Plut.] *Mus.* 7.1133f.

[40] [Plut.] *Mus.* 7.1133f.

[41] *Orthios* as citharodic nome: Poll. 4.65, [Plut.] *Mus.* 24.1140f, Suda s.v. Ὄρθιος νόμος. [Plut.] *Mus.* 7.1133f. may be understood also in the way that the *Orthios* nome was believed to be an auletic nome, see Barker 1984:252.

[42] Λυρικός in *Vita Hesiodi* 11 (by Tzetzes) p. 12 Gaisf., Suda s.v. Στησίχορος; μελο-

Stesichorus because he was the first to establish a chorus of singers to the cithara.[43] The Suda also claims that all the poetry of Stesichorus was triadic, containing strophe, antistrophe and epode, a feature which is often regarded as characteristic of choral songs.[44] The triadic nature of Stesichorus' poetry must have been widely and well known, since it gave arise to an expression (τϱία Στησιχόϱου) which was used for scolding people who were devoid of culture and education: it was said that they did not know even the "three of Stesichorus."[45] Therefore, it seems that ancient authors regarded Stesichorus as a lyric poet who composed songs in different genres both for aulos and cithara, for soloists, and also for a choir.

In modern handbooks Stesichorus was used to be described exclusively as a choral poet. This opinion was based on the Suda's view about how the poet received his professional name and on the triadic nature of extant fragments of Stesichorus' poetry. Only recently the validity of this opinion has begun to be doubted, and it has been proposed instead that Stesichorus was a citharode and the triadic structure of his poetry is a purely traditional musical convention of composition.[46] At present views vary considerably on that matter. There are still those who argue strongly in favour of the view that Stesichorus composed mainly choral poetry,[47] and those who believe that Stesichorus may well have composed both monodic (citharodic, aulodic) and choral songs as well as poems and music in other genres (hymns, love songs, paeans, etc.) for different occasions.[48] The tradition, unfortunately provides no decisive help in the question whether Stesichorus was a choral or monodic poet or both. However, the fact that comparatively few details in tradition are drawn from his verses, may suggest that at least most of it was sung by the chorus and its leader, and the audience did not associate the "I" in the songs with the author as easily as, for example, in the case of Sapphic or Arcilochean poetry.

ποιός in *Vita Hesiodi* 3, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 12; μελῳδός in Tz. schol. Σ Hes. *Op.* 269 (p. 159 Gaisf.); κιθαϱῳδός in Suda s.v. ἐπιτήδευμα.

[43] Suda s.v. Στησίχοϱος.

[44] Suda s.v. τϱία Στησιχόϱου.

[45] Suda *ibid.* About the Suda's entry and the proverb, see Davies 1982:206–210.

[46] West 1971a:313, Gerber 1997:233 f.

[47] Burkert 1987:51–53, Dihle 1994:45.

[48] Podlecki 1984:156, Davies 1988 *passim*, Kurke 2000:80, *et al.*

5. *Blindness,* Helen, *and the* Palinode

Only four lines of Stesichorus' *Helen* have come down to us (187, 188 PMG). Neither of the fragments is very revealing about the story of Helen: fr. 187 is about Cydonean apples, myrtle leaves, roses and violets, fr. 188 mentions a footbath of *litharge* (lead monoxide).[49] From the works of other authors, however, we know approximately what the poem was about: Stesichorus told about the abduction of Helen by Theseus and her rescue by the Dioscuri.[50] While talking about Helen, he used a slanderous tone and possibly called the daughters of Tyndareus "twice-wed and thrice-wed and husband-deserters" (223 PMG).[51] According to tradition, Stesichorus was struck blind for his blasphemy and regained his sight only after he had composed one or more recantations or *Palinodes*. In the *Palinode*(*s*) he was believed to have blamed Homer and Hesiod for telling lies about Helen, and to say that she never sailed to Troy with Alexander after all, and it was only a phantom of Helen over whom the Achaeans and the Trojans were fighting at Troy.[52]

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[49] In addition to them five more lines are extant, if 223 PMG (about the restless character of the daughers of Tyndareus) belongs in *Helen* as Bergk has suggested.

[50] Helen, pregnant by Theseus, gave birth in Argos and, as she was not married, gave her baby daughter Iphigeneia to her sister Clytemnestra the wife of Agamemnon. When Helen was back at home in Sparta, the best men of Greece came to woo her because of her lineage and beauty, and the Trojan War followed. See Paus. 2.22.6 (191 PMG), and schol. A Hom. *Il.* 2.339 (190 PMG).

[51] References to *Helen* and *Palinode*: Isocr. *Hel.* 64, Pl. *Phaedr.* 243a, cf. *Resp.* 9.586c, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 11.40ff., Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 6.11, Max. Tyre 21.2, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος, etc., see also Wright 2005:86ff. Fr. 223 PMG is located in the *Helen* by Bergk (Edmonds follows him; but cf. West 1969:144 n. 7), in *Oresteia* by Geel, and in the *Iliou persis* by Blomfield and Welcker (see Page in PMG p. 120 *ad loc.*). In this fragment Stesichorus blames Aphrodite for making Tyndareus' daughters unfaithful because he had forgotten to sacrifice to her. Helen's partners were Theseus, Menelaus, Paris, Deiphobus, and on the White Island Achilles. Clytemnestra's husbands were Agamemnon and Aegisthus.

[52] Plato quotes three lines of the *Palinode* (*Phaedr.* 243a = 192 PMG, see also *Resp.* 9.586c = 193 PMG) and Chamaeleon quotes the first lines of the two *Palinodes* (POxy 2506 fr. 26 col. I = 193 PMG). Wright (2005:86–109) doubts in the authenticity of the lines quoted by Plato and suggests (p. 106f.) that they are Plato's own invention for the sake of his argument that the written word is nothing but a phantom of the real truth (see *Phaedr.* 276). Wright accepts, however, that Isocrates' reference to the *Palinode* (*Hel. 64*) is independent of Plato and may be based on Stesichorus' poem called *Palinode* (or some source which contained information about the poem).

According to Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 11.40), Stesichorus had said that Helen did not leave Sparta at all, while some other authors believed that although she was carried off by Alexander, she stopped in Egypt and remained there to the end of the war: Hdt. 2.112–120, Eur. *Hel.*, cf. *Od.* 4.349–570, see also Ael. Arist. *Or.* 1.128 with schol. *ad loc.* Lucian

The story of Stesichorus' blindness is obviously based on his *Helen* and *Palinode*. Whether Stesichorus only composed the poems or told the whole story, i.e. that he became blind for slandering the goddess in *Helen* and had to compose the *Palinode* to regain his sight (as is told by Isocrates), is not certain. One detail, namely the way the poet became aware of the cause of his blindness, varies considerably in tradition. According to Isocrates he simply realized the cause of his plight, in Plato's version he had some help from the Muses, in [Acro's] scholium it is Apollo who advises him to compose the recantation, while the Suda says that the poet composed the *Palinode* as the result of a dream.[53] In Conon's and Pausanias' version a Crotonian man Autoleon or Leonymus who had visited the White Island and met Helen there brings a message to Stesichorus saying that the loss of his sight is caused by the wrath of Helen and to be healed he needs to compose a recantation.[54] According to Horace's account, which may be influenced by another Italian legend, the story of Phormio, those who deprived Stesichorus of his sight and later restored it were the Dioscuri, the regular helpers of Helen.[55] As both Autoleon and Phormio were wounded in the battle of Sagras fought between Locri and Croton, these accounts probably belong to the Locrian tradition.[56] The variability of this detail indicates that there was no early authoritative source for it, i.e. Stesichorus probably did not say anything particular about how he became aware of the cause of his blindness.

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reports that Helen and Stesichorus both eventually lived in peace in the Island of the Blessed (*VH* 2.15).

[53] Isocr. and Pl. in p. 73 n. 51, [Acro] on Hor. *Odes* 1.16.1, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.

[54] Conon 26 F 1.18, Paus. 3.19.9–20.1. Autoleon/Leonymus had been in the battle between Croton and Locri in Italy where he was wounded by the ghost of Ajax son of Oileus. As the wound did not heal he went to Delphi for advice. The Pythia told him to travel to the White Island where Ajax would cure him. In the White Island he was healed and met besides Ajax several other heroes, and also Helen who was wedded to Achilleus. About Conon's version see Brown 2002:142f.–147.

[55] Hor. *Epod.* 17.42 and schol. Cruq. *ad loc.* Phormio of Croton was wounded in the battle on the River Sagras by one of the Dioscuri. Phormio's wound could not be healed till he consulted the Pythia, who told him to go to Sparta, where his healer would be the first person who invited him to dinner. When he arrived at Sparta, a young man invited him in, and after dinner applied scrapings from his spear to Phormio's wound. When Phormio was about to mount his chariot he suddenly found himself holding the knob of his own house door in Croton. The young host was none other than one of the Dioscuri who had helped the Locrians with whom the Crotonians had had a battle. See Theop. 115 F 392 ap. Suda s.v. Φορμίων, Justin. 20.2–3, Cratin. fr. 238 K.-A., and also Paus. 3.16.2–3, Plut. *Mor.* 1103a. Clement of Alexandria links Phormio (of Lacedaemon) with Pythagoras and other magi (*Strom.* 1.133.2). See also the story of Telephus (*Arg. Cypria* 7).

[56] See the notes 54 and 55 above.

Perhaps he mentioned his blindness only metaphorically, or maybe did not mention it at all. Graziosi has suggested that Stesichorus might have told the story of his blindness in order to emphasize his greater religious understanding than Homer's: unlike Homer he realised the truth, the reason of his blindness, and found a way to retrieve the situation.[57] The story, based probably at least to some extent on poetry may have also entered Stesichorus' tradition simply as one of the conventional topics of early biographical traditions,—e.g. as a theme of a temporary calamity suffered by the person concerned and his subsequent healing. In any case, the story was known in the Classical period.

There is also a proverb which may be linked to the tradition of Stesichorus' recantation of the story of Helen: according to the Suda, when someone was telling the opposite to what he had said, it was said that he is "singing a palinode."[58]

6. *Stesichorus and politics*

There are three stories in Stesichorus' tradition about the poet's intervention in politics. First, Aristotle's account that the poet warned the Himereans against the tyranny of Phalaris: when the Himereans had elected Phalaris as general with unlimited power and were offering him a bodyguard, Stesichorus made a speech and told them a fable of a horse who, annoyed by the damage a stag had done to his pasturage, asked a hunter to help him and punish the stag. The hunter agreed on the condition that the horse allowed him to bridle and mount him, and after the stag was killed the horse found himself trapped in the servitude to the man. Stesichorus finished his speech with an admonition not to try to take revenge on the enemies of Himera with the help of the general, lest the Himereans themselves would become his slaves.[59] In the version told by Conon the would-be tyrant is Gelon.[60] Gelon became the tyrant

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[57] Graziosi 2002:147–150. Cf. also Lefkowitz 1981:32f. Bowra (1961:108), in turn, feels that the story of blindness "smacks too much of folk-lore to suggest that he told it himself," but Stesichorus might have called himself τυφλός in a figurative sense speaking of his former attitude to Helen in his *Palinode*. The connected story of Leonymus has been regarded as a doublet of the story of Phormio and the Dioscuri, which was attached to the tradition of Stesichorus in order to shed light on the way the poet became aware of the cause of his misfortune. See Wilamowitz 1900:13, West 1971a:303f., Burkert 1972:152f.

[58] Suda s.v. παλινοδία. The Suda does not strictly link the saying to Stesichorus.

[59] Arist. *Rhet*. 2.1393b.

[60] Conon 26 F 1.42.

of Gela around 491 BC, which, if we accept the usual date for Stesichorus in the first part of the sixth century, is too late for being Stesichorus' contemporary.[61] Thus, Gelon has probably replaced Phalaris in the older story. Phalaris, on the other hand, is placed in the latter part of the seventh and first part of the sixth centuries by ancient authors, and is thus more appropriate in the story told by Stesichorus.[62] Phalaris, however, is primarily associated with Acragas on the southern coast of Sicily. It has been suggested that the whole story may be a conventional motif of the genre of early biography used by Stesichorus when he was creating his own version of the "story of warning" and performing it to the Himerean audience.[63] Doing so he must have, however, at least hinted at the would-be tyrant by name, since it is very difficult to imagine that he told an "anonymous" fable the target of which even his contemporary audience did not grasp. The poet could have told about some other local overambitious and power-greedy man whose name was later (but well before Aristotle who refers to the story as a familiar apophthegm) replaced by the name of the notorious tyrant. It is possible that Phalaris was inserted in the story by the Pythagoreans, for, according to tradition, Pythagoras himself had conflicts with him and was even arrested for his views by the tyrant.[64] It is equally possible, however, that under a common Phoenician danger which threatened all the western cities, the Himereans decided to ally themselves to Phalaris, and Stesichorus indeed warned the citizens against the danger of tyranny.[65]

In the section about the use of maxims in his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle mentions another case when Stesichorus intervened in politics: the poet had warned the Locrians not to become insolent "lest the cicadas should chirp from the ground." Aristotle does not explain the meaning of this obscure

[61] However, it fits with the date (485 BC) that the *Marmor Parium* gives for the poet. About the date of Stesichorus see p. 79.

[62] Eusebius' date for Phalaris is Ol.31 (656 / 3), the Suda places him in Ol.52 (572 / 69). According to OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Phalaris*, the tyrant was in power *c.* 570-*c.* 549.

[63] See Lefkowitz 1981:34 who suggest that the stories against tyrants are typical traditional anecdotes told by archaic poets without naming their enemies, and introduced later, probably after the fifth century, into Stesichorus' tradition, since the audience preferred to think of the poets as civic heroes. On the other hand, the association of Stesichorus with Phalaris has in modern times been one of the reasons why the poet has been dated to the sixth century, see Wilamowitz 1900:34, 1913:236, RE s.v. *Stesichoros*, Bowra in OCD 2nd ed. s.v. *Stesichorus*.

[64] Iambl. *VP* 215–217, 221.

[65] About the Phoenician threat to Acragas and Himera see Dunbabin 1948:318 f.

phrase, obviously expecting his readers to know it well.[66] The saying is explained by Demetrius (who ascribes it to Dionysius the fourth-century tyrant of Sicily) as "lest their enemies would invade the country and cut down all the trees" (so that the cicadas would have to live on the ground).[67] Thus, the accounts about Stesichorus as a political adviser are attested in both Sicilian/Himerean and Italian/Locrian traditions.

The third example of Stesichorus' peacemaking activities is the account of how the poet restored peace between two groups of adversaries who had been drawn up to do battle with each other, by taking up his position between them and singing to them.[68]

These stories place Stesichorus, whose extant poetry treats only mythical non-political topics, among the poets who used their talent to influence the political situation in their own or neighbouring cities, and, in a wider context, in the network of traditional themes according to which a poet functions as a healer or the re-establisher of a normal situation.[69]

7. *Stesichorus' name and his death*

According to the Suda, Stesichorus' name was originally Tisias, "Avenger," and he got his better known nick-name later owing to his activity as a choral poet.[70] The meaning of the name points to the possibility that Stesichorus was, in tradition, predestined to take revenge for the murder of his kinsman. There is, however, no extant story of Stesichorus' revenge.[71]

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66 Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1395.

67 Demetr. *Eloc.* 413c.

68 Diog. Bab. ap. Philodem. *Mus.* 1.30 (281c PMG). Diogenes does not specify the location or the people involved in the story. Cf. the comparative story about Terpander ap. Suda s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν in which Terpander restores peace in Sparta, see p. 139.

69 See, for example, the poetry and traditions of Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Solon, Alcman, Terpander, Thaletas, etc., and p. 214 below.

70 Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.

71 However, some details in the story of Hesiod's death and in the tradition of Stesichorus have similarities with the story about Alcmaeon (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.5–6). The father of both Hesiod's and Alcmaeon's murderers was called Phegeus; the murderers were the brothers of a woman connected to Hesiod and Alcmaeon respectively, and the murders were retaliation for the wrong (supposedly) done by Hesiod and Alcmaeon (a rape or seduction in Hesiod's case, swindling by Alcmaeon). Both stories are also located in the same region: Alcmaeon was active in Psophis, around the river Acheloos, and his avengers were pursued to Tegea which lies very close to Pallantium from where Stesichorus was expelled. Could it be that there existed a story, according to which

After he had been expelled from Pallantium, Stesichorus travelled to Catana in Sicily and was murdered there or on his way to the city. His murderer was a robber called Hicanus ("Competent") who was blamed also for killing a piper called Aeschylus.[72] Stesichorus was buried in Catana near the gate which was later called Stesichorean Gate.[73] The tomb was an impressive octagonal monument with a column in each corner, and eight steps on each side. The shape of the tomb gave rise to the expression "eight all" (πάντα ὀκτώ), which, in turn, became current among dice-players who started to call the throw which turned out eight "Stesichorus."[74]

Only one account says that the poet was buried in his home town Himera.[75] There was, however, a statue of Stesichorus, a bent old man holding a book, in the city. When Himera was destroyed in 409 BC, the survivors took the statue with other treasures to Thermae and set it up in their new home town.[76] That the poet lived a long life is mentioned by Cicero according to whom Stesichorus continued to compose even in his old age, and by Lucian, who says that the poet was eighty-five years old when he died.[77]

Stesichorus/Tisias the son of Hesiod was predestined to take revenge for the murder of his father and killed Phegeus and his sons in Pallantium from where he was banished for that reason? One of the works of Stesichorus is titled *Eriphyle* (194 PMG; S 148, S 149, S 150 SLG, fr. $194_{\text{I–V}}$ PMGF. In S 148 SLG Alcmaeon is mentioned). Although most of the references to this poem deal with the problem of which of the heroes killed at Thebes were raised from the dead by Asclepius, the poem probably told also about the betrayal of Eriphyle in length. Stesichorus may well have referred to the death of Alcmaeon in his poem, and may thus have given rise to the development of the account with similar story-pattern about the poet's own life. The hypothesis remains tenuous, however, and is not supported by the discrepancies found in the traditions of Hesiod/Stesichorus and of Alcmaeon: the avengers of Alcmaeon, for example, survived whereas Tisias was killed; and among several accounts about the death of the murderers of Hesiod (see p. 27) there is no extant version which would suggest the link between the son of Hesiod and the death of the murderers. Pallantium may also have entered Stesichorus' tradition from the *Geryoneis* in which the city, according to Pausanias (8.3.2), is mentioned.

72 Suda s.vv. Στησίχορος and ἐπιτήδευμα.

73 Antipater in *Anth. Pal.* 7.75, Photius *Lex.* s.v. πάντα ὀκτώ, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.

74 Pollux 9.100, Photius and the Suda (*loc. cit* in n. 73).

75 Pollux 9.100.

76 Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.86. The statue is not extant. It is quite plausible that there was also a cenotaph of Stesichorus in Himera. The only other statue of Stesichorus recorded in ancient sources, is the (not extant) statue in the Baths of Zeuxippus at Constantinople, mentioned by Christodorus (*Ecphr.* in *Anth. Pal.* 2.125 ff.). About the images of Stesichorus, see Richter 1965:68.

77 Cic. *De senect.* 7.23, [Lucian.] *Macr.* 26. The eighty-five years for Stesichorus come

The tradition of Catana as the place where Stesichorus died is clearly supported (and may even be inspired) by the existence of a spectacular tomb in the city. It certainly helped to fix the tradition.[78]

8. *The date of Stesichorus*

Most ancient sources place Stesichorus in the period between 650 and 550 BC. Eusebius' dates for the poet's *akme* and death are Ol.42.2 (611/10) and Ol.55.1 (560/59) respectively;[79] according to Cyril, Stesichorus *floruit* after Ol.42 (612/09) which is his date for Alcmaeon (Alcaeus?) and Pittacus. The different entries in the Suda say that Stesichorus lived from Ol.37 (632/28) to Ol.56 (556/2), later than Alcman and earlier than Simonides, and was contemporary with Sappho, Alcaeus, and Pittacus whom the Suda placed in Ol.42 (612/09).[80]

All these sources probably follow, directly or indirectly, Apollodorus who placed Stesichorus in relation to two other lyric poets, Alcman and Simonides, creating or using a chronological sequence according to which Alcman died in the year of Stesichorus' birth, and Stesichorus died in the same year when Simonides was born.[81] He may have derived the synchronism, for example, from Simonides fr. 564 PMG, in which Stesichorus is mentioned as a famous poet of the past; or from some tradition concerning the poets. The Apollodoran absolute date for Stesichorus, which is not extant in direct sources, may have been taken from an epigram which says that Simonides was eighty years old at the time of the archonship of Adeimantus (Adimandus) (477 BC).[82] Simonides' date of birth (and Stesichorus' date of death) would, therefore, be in Ol.56 (556/53), as it stands in the Suda, and in Cicero.[83] The Apollodoran date for Alcman's death (and, therefore, the date for Stesichorus' birth) was

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probably from a chronological speculation which linked Stesichorus with Alcman (who too is reported to have lived for 85 years) and Simonides, see p. 79.

[78] After all, Stesichorus may have indeed died and been buried in Catana.

[79] The Armenian version gives Ol.41.3 (608/7) and Ol.55.3 (558/7).

[80] Suda s.vv. Στησίχορος, Σιμωνίδης, Σαπφώ and Πιττακός.

[81] Jacoby 1902:196–200, Mosshammer 1979:218–225.

[82] Sim. fr. 77 Diehl (176 Edmonds, xxviii FGE). Modern commentators do not agree over the authorship of this epigram: Diehl and Edmonds (*ad loc.*) believe it to be Simonides' own work, Page (1981:241 ff.) finds it quite likely to be Hellenistic (in which case the early chronographers could not have used it for calculating Simonides' date).

[83] Cic. *Rep.* 2.10–20; Suda s.v. Στησίχορος in which Stesichorus is "later than the lyric poet Alcman" and died in Ol.56. Cf. also the Suda s.v. Σιμωνίδης, in which the

probably Ol.37 (632/29), as it is attested also in the Suda.[84] This date fits with another synchronism given in the Suda: Sappho, Alcaeus, Pittacus and Stesichorus lived in Ol.42.2 (611).[85] If Stesichorus was born in 632/631, he was twenty years old in 611 and therefore a contemporary to the Lesbians.[86] Eusebius preserved the Apollodoran synchronism between Stesichorus and Simonides, but placed it slightly earlier, in Ol.55.1 (560/59) and understood the γέγονε for Simonides as his *akme*.[87] He preserved also the synchronism Alcman-Stesichorus but placed it in Ol.42.2 (611/10), probably under the influence of the synchronism of Sappho-Alcaeus-Pittacus-Stesichorus-Ol.42. Eusebius (or his source) also made the synchronism of Alcman and Stesichorus literal, saying that both poets flourished in the same year, Ol.42.2 (611/10). We do not have Eusebius' date for Stesichorus' birth.[88]

Aristotle gives no absolute date for Stesichorus. However, he synchronizes him with Phalaris, which leads us to the same period.[89] In the

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Apollodoran γέγονε is understood as his *akme*—see Mosshammer 1979:221 and Jacoby 1904a:176.

[84] Suda s.v. Στησίχορος. Apollodorus may have calculated the date of Alcman on the basis of tradition that Alcman came from Sardis (16 PMG, Crates in Suda s.v. Ἀλκμάν, *Anth. Pal.* 7.709, 7.19, 7.18, Vell. Pat. 1.18.3, etc.) and that his songs were sung at the festival of Gymnopaedia which was established as an appeasement to the gods after the Spartan defeat at Hysiae, see Mosshammer 1979:224, Wade-Gery 1949:79–81. According to Herodotus (1.15), Sardis was captured by the Cimmerians at the time of the reign of Ardys. Mosshammer suggests that Apollodorus may have presumed that Alcman fled from Sardis when the city was overwhelmed by Cimmerian hordes, and arrived in Sparta in the same year as the battle of Hysiae, which Pausanias dates to Ol.27.4 (669/8), and composed hymnody which was performed next year at the first Gymnopaedia (Mosshammer 1979:219–225, Paus. 2.24.7). Thus, Alcman's *akme* would be Ol.28.1 (668/7) and his date of death Ol. 37 (632/29).

[85] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ.

[86] Ol.42.2 (611) was originally the *akme* of Pittacus (Suda s.v. Πιττακός). See Mosshammer 1979:221 and 256–254. More about the date of Sappho and Pittacus, see p. 197 below.

[87] See Mosshammer 1979:221.

[88] If we accept that Stesichorus lived 75 or 76 years, as it follows from the Apollodoran dates, Eusebius' date for Stesichorus' birth would be 635 (Ol.36) (cf. the Suda's date for Alcman's death in Ol.37). If we follow Lucian's information (*Macr.* 26) that Stesichorus lived 85 years, he would have been born in 645. If we assume that in Ol.42.2 (611) he was 20 years old (as it can be interpreted from the combined synchronisms of Apollodorus and the Suda), his date of birth would be in 631 (cf. again 632 (Ol.37) for Alcman's death in the Suda) and he would have died at the age of 71.

[89] Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1393b. The Eusebian dates for Phalaris are: Ol.32.1 (652) or Ol.32.3 (650) in the Armenian version: "*Phalaris apud Acragantinos tyrannidem exercet*"; Ol.38.4 (624) or Ol.39.2 (622) in the Armenian version: "*Phalaris tyrannis destructa*"; and Ol.52.2 (573/2) (the same in the Armenian version): "*Phalaris tyrannidem exercuit annis XVI.*"

Vita Hesiodi Pythagoras is added to this synchronism.[90] It is not possible to determine which synchronism, Stesichorus-Phalaris, Pythagoras-Phalaris, or Stesichorus-Pythagoras, came first and influenced the development of the other synchronisms: there are stories which link both Stesichorus and Pythagoras separately with the tyrant, and there are also plenty of details in tradition which connect the poet with the Pythagoreans.[91] From the point of view of historicity, all three synchronisms may actually be of the same value, since they all may have emerged from tradition.

Marmor Parium, in turn, gives a much later date for Stesichorus, saying that the poet arrived in Greece in 486/5 or 485/4 (222 years before 264/3 which is the starting year of the *Marmor*), at the time of the archonship of Philocrates when Euripides was born and Aeschylus won his first victory with a tragedy.[92] Stesichorus' arrival in Greece in 486/5 would agree with Conon's report that the tyrant against whom the poet warned the Himereans was Gelon who ruled *ca.* 491–478.[93] Stesichorus could have been believed to have come to Athens in 486/5. Again, it is not possible to settle once and for all whether the author of the *Marmor* (or his source) placed Stesichorus in the first part of the fifth century because (1) the poet was in some version of tradition primarily linked with Gelon; (2) because Gelon had in some early source already replaced Phalaris (against whom the poet warned the people); or (3) the connection with the Syracusan tyrant was developed because the poet was placed in 480s, which ruled out the synchronism Stesichorus-Phalaris. The Suda's account that the robber Hicanus murdered besides Stesichorus also the piper Aeschylus, may thanks to some further misinterpretation be derived from the same synchronism of Stesichorus and Aeschylus the tragedian (and Euripides) mentioned by the *Marmor*.[94]

In sum, Stesichorus' ancient dates rest upon two sets of synchronisms: first the synchronism Stesichorus-Alcman-Simonides which is

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[90] *Vita Hesiodi* 3: ὁ δὲ Στησίχορος οὗτος σύγχρονος ἦν Πυθαγόρᾳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀκραγαντίνῳ Φαλάριδι. The Eusebian dates for Pythagoras are Ol.62.4 (529) or Ol.62.1 (532, the Armenian version): "*Pythagoras physicus philosophus clarus habetur*," and Ol.70.2 (499, in both versions): "*Pythagoras philosophus moritur*."

[91] Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1393b, Iambl. *VP* 215–221. For the Pythagorean connections see p. 82.

[92] *Marmor* Ep. 50. Philocrates is not attested in other sources.

[93] Conon 26 F 1.42. The date of Gelon: Paus. 6.9.4–5, Dion. 7.1, cf. Dunbabin 1948:410 ff.

[94] *Marmor* Ep. 73 mentions Stesichorus the Second who had won the victory in Athens in 370/69 or 396/8.

a chronological calculation linking the famous poets, possibly on the basis of some poem or story which featured them. The synchronism was associated with another synchronism Stesichorus-Sappho-Alcaeus-Pittacus which was dated in Ol.42. The second set, Stesichorus-Phalaris(-Pythagoras), is linked with the story of the poet's warning against tyranny. In this synchronism, Gelon has replaced Phalaris in one strand of tradition.[95]

9. *The connections with the Pythagorean tradition*

It is clear from the previous sections that several details in Stesichorus' tradition connect him with the Pythagoreans.[96] First he is linked with the Pythagoreans through his family: his possible fathers Euphemus, Euphorbus and Euetes (if the emendation is correct) have Pythagorean background, the story of Hesiod's death and Stesichorus' birth was probably at least transmitted by the Pythagoreans; the poet's brothers Mamercus and Helianax were probably connected or believed to be connected with the Pythagorean circle. Secondly, Autoleon or Leonymus, who was "the first to travel to the White Island," came from Croton, the stronghold of the Pythagoreans in the latter part of the sixth century. He was also believed to have been wounded in the battle of the River Sagras. The story of this battle serves as an unhappy prelude to the triumph of the Pythagoreans of Croton in tradition, and it is only to be expected that the Pythagoreans were interested in everything concerned with this battle.[97] From the White Island, which was possibly identified originally

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[95] Modern commentators usually accept the first part of the sixth century AS an approximate date for Stesichorus: see the references in p. 64 n. 2.

[96] About Stesichorus' connections with the Pythagorean tradition see also West 1971a:302–304. West maintains that the historical Stesichorus was not associated with (historical) Pythagoras himself. Indeed, the only direct link in tradition between Stesichorus and Pythagoras is the chronological synchronism in the *Vita Hesiodi* 3 cited in the previous section (p. 81 n. 90). From the point of view of this book, it is not relevant, however, whether the historical Stesichorus was acquainted with Pythagoras or, indeed, with the Pythagoreans. The formation of his biographical tradition is undoubtedly influenced by the Pythagorean tradition.

[97] The battle took place around the middle of the sixth century when the Crotonians attacked Locri, a much smaller and weaker city. Locris gained some help from Rhegium, and enjoyed the favour of Delphi (the Locrians outbid the Crotonians by offering a ninth of the booty for the support of the Pythian Apollo, against a tenth). Furthermore, the Dioscuri sent by the Spartans miracuously fought on their side, and also the ghost of Locrian Ajax. The Locrians won the battle. The loss at Sagras was a great blow for

with the "White Rock" in the underworld and only later localized in the Black Sea, Autoleon brought back the message from Helen to Stesichorus. This account belongs most certainly among the stories of *katabasis* so important to the Orphics and Pythagoreans.[98] The saying ascribed to Pythagoras, that the soul of Homer had found its second dwelling-place in Stesichorus, associates Stesichorus with the early Pythagorean theory of reincarnation and metempsychosis.[99] Furthermore, both Pythagoras and Stesichorus had a conflict with Phalaris the tyrant of Acragas in tradition: the poet warned his fellow-citizens against his tyranny; Pythagoras was detained by Phalaris for his political and moral views.[100] And finally a small but interesting detail: Stesichorus used the Pythagorean word Μεσόνυξ for one of the planets known to the ancients (probably for Mars, less likely to Jupiter or Saturn).[101] It is interesting, however, that there is no extant story which would link Stesichorus directly with Pythagoras.[102]

Croton, and only the new influence and guidance of the Pythagoreans some decades later brought the city out from its decline. In 510 Pythagoras, according to tradition, advised the Crotonians to reject the unfair demands of Sybaris which led to the unexpectedly victorious war against this strong and powerful city. See Dunbabin 1948:358–360 and also Burn 1960:375.

[98] See Burkert 1972: ch. 3, especially pp. 152–157. There are accounts of how Pythagoras himself visited the Underworld: Hieron. (fr. 42 Wehrli) ap. Diog. L. 8.21, Hermipp. ap. Diog. L. 8.41, etc.

[99] Antipater in *Anth. Pal.* 7.75:

> Στασίχορον ζαπληθὲς ἀμέτρητον στόμα Μούσας
> ἐκτέρισεν Κατάνας αἰθαλόεν δάπεδον,
> οὗ κατὰ Πυθαγόρεω φυσικὰν φάτιν ἁ πρὶν Ὁμήρου
> ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεύτερον ᾠκίσατο.

Of course, this might also mean that Stesichorus is very Homeric in his style, cf. [Longin.] *De subl.* 13.3.

[100] See p. 75 and Iambl. *VP* 215–218.

[101] Stesich. 259 PMG (= Choerob. in *Anecd. Gr.* iii.1397 Bekker and Herodian i.45, ii.743 Lenz). See Bicknell 1968:10–12, Campbell 2001:175.

[102] There are some hints, though, which suggest the possible existence of such link. First, the notion that Stesichorus' father was Euphorbus may be connected with the tradition about Euphorbus the previous incarnation of Pythagoras (see p. 65 n. 5). In that case, Stesichorus would be the descendant of Pythagoras' immortal manifestation. Secondly, Stesichorus' brother Mamercus was known also as the son or father of Pythagoras (see p. 67) which would make Stesichorus respectively either the son or uncle of the famous mage.

10. *Formulaic elements in the tradition*

Stesichorus' tradition contains many traditional themes, most of them already discussed in previous sections. The tradition includes an account of Stesichorus' poetic initiation: Apollo taught him the tuning of the lyre while he was still in his mother's womb and at his birth, when he had just reached the light of day, a nightingale sat on his lips and sang a sweet tune.[103] Secondly, the story that Stesichorus was temporarily blinded by angry Helen or her brothers, reminds one the account about Homer whose blindness was (in one version) caused by Helen who was furious with him for the unflattering things he had said about her.[104]

Stesichorus, just as many other poets, had disagreements with authorities: he warned the Himereans against the possible tyranny of Phalaris, Gelon, or some other tyrant. In the warning-story Stesichorus functions effectively as a healer, helping to restore the normal situation in the community. On another occasion he reconciled the enemies who were about to fight by his song and restored peace.[105]

Famous figures are often connected with each other in some way in biographical traditions. Stesichorus is linked with Euclides the founder of Himera, with Mamercus the well-known geometer, and with Hesiod through family; and also with Pythagoras, Phalaris, Gelon, Sappho, Alcaeus, Pittacus, Simonides and Alcman through chronology. He is also connected with important mythological figures such as Helen, Castor and Polydeuces, who caused his temporary blindness and later healed him from it.

Another formulaic feature Stesichorus shares with other poets is inventiveness: the invention of the genre of hymn, and the *metrum angelicum* (a derivation from hexameter which was suited by its rapidity to messengers) are ascribed to him, and he was also believed to have been the first to set up a choir.[106]

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[103] Stes. 281(e) PMG ap. Plin. *NH* 10.82, Christod. *Ecphr.* in *Anth. Pal.* 2.125 ff. For more references of initiation-stories, see p. 208.

[104] *Vita Romana* 5, and p. 73f. below. See also the references to the traditions about Homer, Teiresias and Demodocus, p. 209 n. 26 and 26. Among the explanations of the blindness of a Thracian diviner Phineus of Salmydessus those that the gods maimed him for foretelling the future to the human race, and that Poseidon blinded him for having informed the children of Phrixus of the route from Colchis (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.21).

[105] See p. 77. About the healing motif in other traditions, see p. 214.

[106] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.78, Diom. *Ars gramm.* 3, Suda s.v. Στησίχορος.

He also travelled and was sent to exile, gave rise to a couple of proverbs, lived a long life and died a dreadful death, just like other poets.[107] At the age of eighty-five he was murdered, just like Ibycus, Hesiod and Pythagoras.[108] Quite exceptionally however, there is no extant account of Stesichorus' participation in a song contest, stories about his pupils or lovers, his tradition does not contain oracles, and he did not travel to Delphi or Egypt as many other poets used to do.

11. *Conclusions*

The tradition about Stesichorus' life was quite well developed by the Classical period: the Classical authors knew about his home town (Himera), his blindness, his mother (Ctemene or Clymene), several traditions about his father (Hesiod, Euphemus, possibly Euclides) and his brother (Mamercus) who was most probably associated with the Pythagoreans. Classical authors synchronized the poet with Pythagoras and the tyrant Phalaris.

There are few details in the extant traditions of Stesichorus' life which are probably drawn from his poetry. Such details are the accounts about his home town Himera, his temporary blindness, the warnings against a tyrant and being insolent, and perhaps his expulsion from Pallantium. In comparison to other poets' traditions, however, the makers of the tradition about Stesichorus seem to have used the poetry less extensively as a source of information about his life. It may be, perhaps, because much of his poetry was choral and the "I" in the verses was not so easily associated with the poet.

The tradition seems to be a mixture of the Sicilian/Himerean, the Italian/Locrian, and possibly also of the Arcadian/Catanian traditions. The Sicilian/Himerean strand includes the poet's home town Himera, Euclides the founder of the city, as a possible name of his father, and possibly also the story of warning against Phalaris. Also the account of the Himereans who, after their city was destroyed by the Carthaginians, settled at Thermae and set up a statue to their poet of old times, should belong in the Himerean tradition as well. The Arcadian/Catanian strand would contain the name Tisias and the account why and how the poet

[107] See p. 68, 78, p. 72 n. 44, p. 75, p. 78. For travelling and exile as formulaic topics see p. 210 and 211.
[108] About celebrities' long life and terrible death, see p. 216f.

was expelled from Pallantium and his revenge (if it ever existed), his death by the hand of Hicanus, the burial and tomb in Catana and the expression "πάντα ὀκτώ." The Italian/Locrian strand, whose development and transmission was to a great extent influenced by the Pythagoreans, has a link to the story about Hesiod's romance and death at Oinoe, and was probably formed in Ozolean Locris. The account that Hesiod's and Ctemene's/Clymene's son was Stesichorus was probably added to the story in Epizephyrean Locris, possibly by the Mataurians. The impact of the Pythagoreans on the Italian stratum of tradition is clearly visible: the poet's brothers Mamercus and Helianax, his father Euphemus, Euphorbus, or Euetes, the story of the White Island, the poet's synchronisms with Pythagoras and Phalaris, his association with the theory of metempsychosis and reincarnation,—all these details point to the Pythagorean influence. It seems that the Pythagoreans tried to connect Stesichorus to their own tradition as strongly as possible, falling short only in creating a story which would directly link the poet and the philosopher. Since Stesichorus' poetry does not seem to contain anything very important for Pythagorean thought, they were perhaps interested in him simply as a famous poet in the region. Another reason for tying Stesichorus to their own tradition may have been his link with Hesiod, whose genealogical and cosmological poetry was certainly very important to them.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCHILOCHUS

1. *The tradition*

According to tradition, Archilochus was the son of a nobleman Telesicles and a slave woman Enipo. He was born and grew up in Paros, and had at least one sister and a brother. When Archilochus was a young man he met the Muses and received a lyre and a gift of song in exchange of a cow. Shortly after this event Archilochus' father Telesicles received an oracle which foretold the future immortal fame of his son. Although Archilochus was of high origin and became a well-known poet, he remained poor and served as a soldier. For some time he lived in Thasos where the Parians, led by Archilochus' father or the poet himself had founded a colony.

Archilochus fell in love with Neoboule the daughter of Lycambes. They were about to get married when Lycambes changed his mind and refused to give her to the poet. In his fury Archilochus composed such slanderous and fiery verses that Lycambes and/or his daughter(s) hanged themselves. Although his poetic talent was in general regarded very highly, his harsh ways and outrageous subject matter were often criticized. The Spartans, for example, considered his verses about fleeing from the battlefield and leaving his shield to the enemy so dangerous that they ordered him or his poems to be banished from the city lest his immoral views should indoctrinate their children.

Archilochus was killed in battle by a Naxian man called Calondas nicknamed Corax. His death saddened Apollo so that when Calondas came to Delphi for advice, the Pythia refused to let him, "the killer of the servant of the Muses," enter the temple. He was pardoned only after he had done much praying and supplication, and had appeased the soul of the poet with libations.

Archilochus was believed to have invented the iambic verse and several other metres and poetic devices. He was held in great honour by the Parians and had his own cult established in the Archilocheion on Paros. He was synchronised with Homer, the Lydian king Gyges, and with the

early rulers of Rome—Romulus and Tullus Hostilius—, placing him thus approximately in a period between the middle of the 8th and the first half of the 7th century.

The sources of the tradition

Archilochus' biographical tradition is built to a great extent around his own poetry. In the extant fragments the poet talks, for example, a great deal about the life of a soldier, mentions several times Paros and Thasos, and also Neoboule and Lycambes,—the places and persons closely connected to him in the tradition.[1] Some of the poems are addressed to his companions and friends (Glaucus, Pericles, Aesimides) and to other people (Leophilus, the son of Peisistratus,[2] Batusiades, Cerycides, Myclus).[3]

The first longer and more or less consistent reports of Archilochus' life are two Hellenistic inscriptions found on Paros. One of them was set up by a man called Mnesiepes and his companions in about the middle of the third century BC, and the other by Sosthenes son of Prosthenes around 100 BC.[4] The latter's source is an account of Archilochus' deeds compiled by Demeas who probably was a Parian historian or grammarian of the third century BC.[5] Mnesiepes' Inscription gives an overview of

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[1] Soldier: fr. 1, 2, 4, 5, 98, 101, 114, 216 [West.—All Archilochus' fragments are referred to according to West's edition (1971c) in this book.] Paros: fr. 89, 116, 204(?), cf. 295; Thasos: fr. 20, 21, 93a, 102, cf. 295. Neoboule: fr. 118, 196a, Lycambes: 38, 172, 173.

[2] Tsantsanoglou (2003:243 f.) suggests that the son of Peisistratus is no one else than Amphitimus, the archon mentioned by Sosthenes (A col. Ia).

[3] Glaucus: fr. 105, 117, 96(?). Fragments 15, 48, 131 are generally assigned to Archilochus because of the name Glaucus mentioned in them. In fr. 131 Glaucus is referred as the son of Leptines. Pericles: fr. 13. Aesimides: fr. 14, the son of Peisistratus: fr. 93a, Leophilus: fr. 115, Batusiades: frs. 182, 183, Cerycides: fr. 185, and Myclus: fr. 270,—they, perhaps with an exception of Batusiades (see n. 83) are not mentioned in other sources.

[4] Mnesiepes' Inscription (SEG 15.517) was first published by Kontoleon in AE (1955) 32–95. The first publication of the Sosthenes' Inscription (SEG 15.518) was made by Hiller von Gärtringen in MDAI(A) 25 (1900) 1 ff. See Clay 2004:9–24, 32–35, 104–118, also Chaniotis 1988:23–11, Marcaccini 2001 and Tsantsanglou 2003.

[5] Demeas is unknown from other sources. He seems to have relied heavily on the poetry of Archilochus and arranged the poems chronologically by Parian archons. Von Gärtringen (1900:9–12 and in RE Suppl. i:340–341) dated Demeas by the transmission of different versions of the story about Coeranus—mentioned in the inscription and also in the works of Phylarchus (81 F 26), Aelianus (*NA* 8.3) and Plutarch (*Mor*. 984 f.)—to the first part of the third century. Jacoby agrees with him and places Demeas *ca*. 300–250 BC (FGHist iii B 502 *Demeas*, and FGHist IIIb: 250–251). Peek (1955:43) in principle also agrees with this date, saying that Demeas had to write at least a hundred years before Sosthenes. Cf. also Bowie 1987:18–20, Hauvette 1905:9–10 and Marcaccini 2001:132–148.

the establishment of the cult of the poet, tells the story of his initiation, mentions Telesicles, Lycambes, the Pythian oracles about Archilochus, and describes in a very corrupt passages perhaps also how Archilochus helped to establish (a form of) the cult of Dionysus in Paros, and his death in a battle with the Naxians. It also includes thirty-seven verses of Archilochus' poetry (frr. 89, 90). Sosthenes' Inscription contains mainly poetry-based references with quotations about Archilochus' doings in Thasos, and the troubles and battles with the Thracians and the Naxians.[6] The almost illegible passage seems to include an account of Archilochus' death and funeral on Paros. In the end of the inscription his mother is perhaps also mentioned.

However, pre-Hellenistic sources too contain many details about Archilochus' life. His poetry and everything he says in it about "himself" were well known to the Classical authors, who had quite a clear understanding about his family, initiation, character, life-style, lovers, death, and his date,—the topics that will be discussed below.

Modern opinions about Archilochus' life

Modern commentators have been much more interested in the historical Archilochus than in the formation of his tradition. For a long time Archilochus' poetry was believed to be almost entirely autobiographical, and the tradition which was clearly formed mainly around his poetry was, consequently, regarded as historically more or less reliable.[7] Gradually, however, it has become accepted that the first person in Archilochus' poetry may be a conventional lyric "I" and not always express the personal feelings of the poet. Consequently, the biograpical tradition which was formed around the "unreliable" poetry has in general also become regarded as unreliable although with some possible historically true information in it.[8] A more radical approach, first introduced by

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[6] The fragments of the poems of Archilochus referred in the Sosthenes' Inscription are 93a, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98 and 192.

[7] Bowra 1938:7: "His [Archilochus'] poetry was the reflection of his wandering, unsuccessful, and unhappy life. A bastard, poverty-stricken and crossed in love, he could not help bursting into words of bitter hate against his enemies." See also Jaeger 1939:112–133, RE s.v. *Archilochos*, Myres in CAH[1] iii (1925):654, Bury in CAH[1] iv (1926):483–485, Bowra 1933:58–62, 1938:7–13, Bowra in OCD 2nd ed. s.v. *Archilochus*, Campbell 1967:136, Kirkwood 1974:20–27, Merkelbach 1974:113 (only on Lycambes' and Neoboule's story).

[8] Dover 1963:196–212, Rankin 1973, 1975a, 1977:15–35 and 47–56, and 1978, Brown 1997:53 (emphasizes the possible role of local tradition in the development of Archilo-

M.L. West, sees Archilochus as a poet who composed in a ritual context and used traditional stock-figures in his poetry.[9] This arrangement would have had the advantage of allowing the poet to narrate whatever kind of situation he wanted regardless of its autobiographical genuineness, and also to describe sordid or outlandish incidents with no loss of dignity. In the case of the daughter of Lycambes, for example, the advantage would be that the speaker would not subject a real girl to public humiliation.[10] Obviously, if Archilochus used traditional stock figures in his poetry, his biography which grew around his poetry cannot be regarded as historically reliable.[11]

G. Tarditi suggests that Archilochus' biography took its shape largely in Delphi in the Classical period. He argues that Archilochus was regarded in Delphi as a poet whose greatness was foretold by both Apollo and the Muses, and concludes that the biography, based on Archilochus' poetry and including the oracles, the story of the introduction of Dionysiac cult and also the tradition that the poet died in the war against Naxos, was formed at Delphi between *ca.* 477 and 350 BC.[12] The purpose of it was to link the poet, who (as Tarditi supposes) was originally associated not with

chus' biography), Burnett 1983:17, Slings 1987 and 1990, Bowie 1993, Gerber 1999:5–6, see also Owen 2003:6 n. 24 and 25.

[9] West 1974:22–39. See also below, p. 102.

[10] Henderson 1976:160.

[11] Not all modern commentators agree with the opinion that Lycambes and his daughters are mere stock-characters of *iambus*. They maintain that these figures may well have been historical contemporaries of the poet. Their main arguments are, firstly that the ancient authors seem to have never suspected that the story might be untrue, and we have no reason to believe that Pindar, Aristophanes, Cratinus and Critias failed to understand the intent of Archilochus' poetry and the means which he applied to gain it (Rankin 1978:11–12). Secondly, if we assume that Lycambes and Neoboule were stock characters for iambic derision, we must also suppose that Archilochus created a whole love-story around them, and it is very hard to reconcile the conception of iambic invective with such a fictional romantic cycle (Slings 1990:23–24). Thirdly, unless we suppose that Archilochus' fictional situations were limited to attacks on faithless fathers and faithless daughters there must have been other such characters. True, Archilochus is reported to have slandered also other persons but they do not form a gallery of typical figures (Carey 1986:64, see also p. 105 above). Also, the solemn and dignified language in which Lycambes is attacked is quite inappropriate for the stylised abuse of stock character (Carey *ibid.*).

[12] Tarditi 1956:131–138. Tarditi determined the date of the Delphian additions to Archilochus' tradition on the tenuous basis of Pindar's unflattering comment about Archilochus (*P.* 52–56), maintaining that the poet had not yet entered into Delphi's orbit by the time of Pindar. On the other hand it had to be formed before the first attestation of the Calondas oracle which is in Heracl. Pont. *Pol.* 8 (Tarditi 1956:137).

Delphic but with Delian Apollo, more firmly to the ambit of Delphi.[13] Podlecki who generally accepts Tarditi's theory proposes that Delphi began to take an interest in Archilochus much earlier, possibly within the poet's lifetime. He suggests that Delphi was in friendly relationship with Paros already in the time of the latter's undertaking of colonisation of Thasos and supported it politically as well as by extending recognition to the outspoken Parian poet throughout the Greek world.[14] Parke too accepts the important role of Delphi in the development of Archilochus' biography, and dates the Delphic influence to the fifth, and partly to the seventh century.[15] Kontoleon admits that someone in Delphi might have invented most of the oracles in Archilochus' *Life*, but maintains that the "immortality" oracle given to Telesicles belongs together with the story of the Muses, the story of the introduction of Dionysiac cult, and the account of the war with Naxos, to the early Parian tradition which was known by the middle of the fifth century.[16] Finally, there is the view represented by M. Lefkowitz: "we know nothing about Archilochus' life, since all the biographical 'data' we have about Archilochus (and for that matter, about every other archaic poet) was generated from Archilochus' poetry by critical speculation, starting in the fifth century, /. . . / and was finally formed by the third century BC."[17]

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[13] Tarditi *ibid.*, see also Graham 1978:79. Tarditi's main evidence is the epigram recorded in the *Anth. Pal.* 7.664 (HE 3437) and ascribed to Theocritus, in which Archilochus is linked to Delian Apollo. Kontoleon found some additional support to this theory in similarities between Delian and Parian alphabets and in the so-called Melian pottery found in Delos which he claimed to be in fact of Parian manufacture—both of these arguments might point to artistic and cultic affiliation between Delos and Paros during the archaic period (Kontoleon 1963:66–67 and 58). However, the first argument is criticized by Jeffery who points out that the local script of Delos seems to have been a mixture of Naxian and Parian (1961:291), and the second by Rubensohn who maintaines that Paros did not possess clay suitable for the manufacture of fine pottery, and the Melian pottery was imported to Delos from Miletus via Paros (1962:84,107).

[14] Paros, in turn, may have offered a share for Pythian Apollo in any future dedication from her new colony (Podlecki 1974:4 f.,17).

[15] Parke and Wormell 1956 i:397, Parke 1958:94. See also below p. 96.

[16] Kontoleon 1955:47 f. and 57, 1963:50 f.

[17] Lefkowitz 1976:181–183, 1981:31. Lefkowitz is followed by van Sickle 1976:136, Burnett 1983:17–19, and (in somewhat softer way) by Podlecki 1984:33 and Owen 2003. The only value of this entirely fictional biography is, according to Lefkowitz, that it derives primarily from the author's work and thus preserves at least the names and narrative patterns of poetry now lost to us (Lefkowitz 1976:182).

2. *Archilochus' family and his friends*

Ancient sources agree that the name of Archilochus' father was Telesicles. He is first mentioned in the so-called Docimus' Inscription from the middle of the fourth century BC, and also in the oracles which are dated to the fifth century or earlier.[18] He was believed to be an aristocrat and influential citizen of Paros, who was several times sent to Delphi on civic matters and who led the Parian colonists to Thasos.[19]

A young man called Tellis was depicted with a young woman Cleoboea in the boat of Charon on the fifth century painting by Polygnotus. The picture is not extant, but we have its description from Pausanias who was told that Tellis was grandfather of our poet, and that Cleoboea was the first to bring the mysteries of Demeter from Paros to Thasos.[20] Some modern commentators have inferred from Pausanias' passage that Cleoboea was married to Tellis and was, therefore, the grandmother of Archilochus.[21]

Apart from the very corrupt line in the end of the Sosthenes' Inscription which mentions Archilochus'(?) mother, the only extant piece of information about her is Critias' passage which assumes on the basis of Archilochus' verses that his mother was a slave woman called Enipo.[22] In

[18] Docimus' Inscription:

Ἀρχίλοχος Πάριος Τελεσικλέος ἔνθαδε κεῖται,
το Δόκιμος μνημῆιον ὁ Νεοκρέωντος τόδ' ἔθηκεν (SEG 2.674).

The inscription is in Paros Museum, inv. no. 733 and was first published by Orlandos 1960:184 f. See also Gerber 1999:14 and Clay 2004:9, 28 f., 54. About the oracles, see below p. 96.

[19] Also the name of Archilochus, "a leader of a troop" or "a leader of a company" may indicate his upper class origin. The ancient commentators, however, do not discuss the meaning of the name nor use it as an argument with regard to the poet's background. References to Telesicles: Docimus' Inscription (see above), Mnesiepes' Inscription A col. ii, Oenom. ap Eus. *PE* 5.32–39.9, Sosthenes' Inscription B col. vii, Theodoretus *Graec. affect. curatio* 10.36 (141), Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος, Suda s.v. Ἀρχίλοχος.

[20] Paus. 10.28.3. About Polygnotus' painting see Robertson 1975:266–270.

[21] Treu 1959:250. Others are more circumspect but seem not to exclude the possibility of Tellis and Cleoboea's marriage, see Crusius in RE s.v. *Archilochos*, Pouilloux 1963:22 f., Rankin 1977:17, Burnett 1983:25, Brown 1997:45. It is sometimes suggested that the names Tellis and Telesicles may have got mixed up in ancient sources, Tellis being a shortened form of Telesicles, and both names being associated with τελέα,—see RE s.v. *Archilochos* and *Tellis*, West 1974:24, Rankin 1977:17, Podlecki 1984:32.

[22] Sosthenes' Inscription B col. vii.3: μητρὸς αὐτῆς, Crit. 88 B 44 DK (Arch. fr. 295). Cf. Alcman's servile origin in Heracl. Lemb. *Excerpt. Polit.* (p. 16 Dilts = Arist. fr. p. 372 R.).

that case Archilochus would be an illegitimate son of Telesicles, a theme which, curiously enough, is not developed by other authors. Lefkowitz argues that Archilochus had, perhaps, said in some of his lost poems that he was "the child of abuse" (ἐνιπή), from which it was easy to deduce that his mother's name was Enipo.[23] Tarditi suggests, in turn, that *Enipo* may have been a proper name originating from Asia Minor (cf. Σαπφώ, Θεανώ) which did not carry the meaning in Greek.[24]

There are only very few hints about Archilochus' siblings in ancient sources. Plutarch refers to his sister, saying that one of the poems (fr. 11) was written after her husband was lost at sea.[25] In the oracle given to Telesicles about the glorious future of his son, the name of the son is not specified, instead the Pythia says that whichever of his sons speaks first to him at his arrival at Paros will become immortal and a man of great renown.[26] This implies that Telesicles was believed to have had more than one son, and Archilochus, therefore, at least one brother.

There is no hint about Archilochus' wife in tradition, but he is sometimes accused of adultery and keeping mistresses.[27]

Two companions of Archilochus who are known also from the poet's extant fragments are attested in tradition: Glaucus son of Leptines is mentioned in an inscription on a marble monument found on Thasos and dated to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century BC, and Pericles, whom the poet calls his friend and tries to comfort in his grief (fr. 13), is reported to have been slandered by Archilochus.[28]

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[23] Lefkowitz 1981:26, followed by Nagy 1979:247.

[24] Tarditi 1956:125 f. He proposes a reading Ἐνιποῦς υἱός, τῆς θεράπνης for Archilochus' lost verse and implies that also Archilochus' mother was linked with conducting some kind of cult.

[25] Plut. *Mor.* 33ab.

[26] About the oracle see p. 96.

[27] Crit. 88 B 44 DK, Diphil. fr. 71 K.-A., cf. the tradition about Archilochus and the daughters of Lycambes. Clay (2004:48) has suggested that the woman represented in the late Archaic Totenmahl relief (Paros Museum, inv. nos. 758–759) is Archilochus' wife,—but the identification of Archilochus on the relief is exceedingly tentative, see p. 107.

[28] The Glaucus Inscription: SEG 14.565, first published by Pouilloux 1955:75–86, fig. 1, pl. iii. See also Marcaccini 2001:32–61 and p. 88 n. 3 above. Pericles: fr. 13 W and Aristid. *Or.* 46.293 f.

3. *Archilochus' home, journeys, and contests*

In general, the ancient authors believed that Archilochus was born and raised on Paros.[29] They also agree that he travelled to Thasos later in his life and lived there for a while.[30] Both opinions are supported by Archilochus' poetry and were probably supported also by local historical documents.[31] The reason why the poet had to move from Paros to Thasos was either poverty or because he led the colonists from one island to the other.[32] There is, however, another strand of tradition about the poet's home town: an isolated and late source, a silver cup from the first century AD found from Boscoreale, depicts a throng of skeletons, one of whom is holding a seven-string harp and is named as Archilochus of Myrine.[33] Myrine mentioned here is probably Myrrhine (the modern Mersini) on Paros rather than Myrina on the coast north of Aeolian Cyme or Myrina on the west coast of Lesbos.

The account of his expulsion from Sparta implies that he was believed to have travelled there but, on the other hand, it is more plausible that the story was always understood as a prohibition against performing his poetry (as is stated by Valerius Maximus) rather than physical banishment of the poet.[34] The only other account which mentions the exile, this

[29] Hdt. 1.12, Crit. 88 B 44 DK, Alcid. ap. Arist. *Rh.*2.23.11 (1398b), Alexis fr. 22 K.-A., Mnesiepes' Inscription A col. ii, Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.23, Lucian *Pseudol.* 1, Aristid. *Or.* 32.24, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.79, Origin. *C. Cels.* 2.21, Procl. *Chrest.* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 339.

[30] Crit. 88 B 44 DK, Plut. *Mor.* 604c, Oenom. ap Eus. *PE* 5.31.

[31] Archilochus mentions Paros in fr. 116 and Thasos in frs. 21 (with Plutarch's comment), 102, 93a. In fr. 5 he mentions a Saean who took his shield in a battle (see also Adesp. iamb. 38.5–11, and Obbink 2006 and West 2006). This may suggest that he travelled also to Thrace: the Saeans or Sinti, or Sapaei were the Thracian people who lived on the coast around Abdera and the islands round Lemnos (Str. 12.3.20 (549, 550), Hdt. 7.110). In fr. 22 the river Siris is mentioned. This is thought to be either Siris on the gulf of Tarentum in South Italy, or the river Strymon near the Thracian town Siris, see Tsantsanoglou 2003:254–255 and cf. Marcaccini 2001:154–158.

[32] Crit. 88 B 44 DK, Oenom. ap Eus. *PE* 5.31. About Arcilochus and the colonization of Thasos see Marcaccini 2001. Also p. 99 above, about the oracle given to the poet about colonization of the island.

[33] Silver *modiolus* in Louvre. The other named skeletons on the cup are Menander, Euripides and Monimus, all of Athens. In addidion to them there are three more skeletons and a female figure identified by the words "Envy and Resentment." See Clay 2004:62,122, pl. 32.

[34] Val. Max. 6.3: *Lacedaemonii libros Archilochi e civitate sua exportari iusserunt, quod eorum parum verecundam ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur* ...; Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 34 (*Mor.* 239b): Ἀρχίλοχον τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γεγόμενον αὐτῆς ὥρας ἐδίωξαν, διότι ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα ὡς κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἀποθανεῖν.

time from Paros, comes from the scholiast on Ovid, and gives the poet's vicious tongue as a reason for the expatriation.[35]

It seems that Archilochus was mostly believed to have travelled as a soldier rather than a performing poet. There is, however, an account that Archilochus once wished to sing a hymn to Heracles at Olympia, but lacking a cithara-player he imitated the rhythm and sound of the cithara by his voice and sang the song *Tenella kallinike* (fr. 324) which became a triumphal song for all winners to sing out at the moment of victory.[36] Another strand of tradition says that Archilochus applied the refrain τήνελλα of his Heracles-hymn to himself after his victory in the contest for the hymn to Demeter in Paros.[37]

4. *Archilochus' encounter with the Muses*

The story of Archilochus and the Muses, and his initiation to song is recorded in Mnesiepes' Inscription (B col. ii). According to this, Archilochus while still a boy, once went to the district called Leimones (Meadows), to bring a cow to market. When he arrived at Lissides (Smooth Stones), he met a group of women. Assuming that they were neglecting their work he bantered with them. They jested and laughed with him, and asked whether he was going to sell the cow. When he said he was, they promised a good price for it, and a moment later the women and the cow disappeared, and the boy found a lyre lying at his feet. He was astounded, but after a little while, when he had recovered his senses he realised that it must have been the Muses who had appeared to him. He took the lyre, went home and told his father what had happened. Telesicles searched for the cow throughout the whole island but could find no trace of it.

The same story seems to be depicted on a pyxis painted in Athens *ca.* 460–450 BC: a cowherd, a cow, a female figure leading the cow, and five more figures with musical instruments.[38] The shepherd is now usually

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[35] Schol. Ovid. *Ib.* 521d (p. 156 f. La Penna).

[36] Schol. ad fr. 324 (i.267.1–12 + 268.2–5 Dr.). Fr. 324:

τήνελλα καλλίνικε
Χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις,
αὐτός τε καἰόλαος, αἰχμητὰ δύω.

Unlike the ancients, modern commentators doubt Archilochus' authorship of this poem, see West 1974:138 f.

[37] Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1764 (p. 241 Holwerda).

[38] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, H.L. Pierce Fund, inv. no. 98.887.

identified as young Archilochus. The five figures with instruments have generally been thought to be the Muses, but Clay has suggested that the one sitting on a folding stool and holding a *plektron* in one hand and a seven-string *chelys* lyre in the other is Archilochus later in his life.[39] Kontoleon regards the story as an old Parian tradition which may go back to the Archaic period.[40] The story of Archilochus' encounter with the Muses is another example of a traditional initiation topic represented in almost every biographical tradition of early poets. When exactly the particular story about Archilochus was formed is not possible to say, but if the figure on the Boston pyxis is Archilochus, which is quite plausible, the story must have been well and widely known at least by the middle of the fifth century BC.[41]

5. *The oracles in the tradition of Archilochus*

The tradition contains five Delphic oracles, two of them given to the poet's father Telesicles, one to Archilochus, one to the Parians and one to Archilochus' killer Calondas.[42]

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[39] Clay 2004:55–57, pl. 20, 21, 22. Caskey and Beazley (1931:34–37) identified the male-figure as Hesiod. Kontoleon (1955:57–59) was the first to suggest that the cowherd on the picture is Archilochus. *Contra*: Peek 1955:23–26, but see the reply of Kontoleon in 1963:47–49. Beazley later agreed that the male-figure is Archilochus rather than Hesiod (1963:774). Archilochus is conjectured to be represented also on another fifth century vase: the Attic red-figure bell *krater* (Palermo, Banco di Sicilia, inv. no. 196, dated to *ca.* 420 BC) shows a youth in travelling costume and holding two spears, see Beazley in ARV[2] 1686, Clay 2004:57, pl. 24. See also the discussion on the first century BC relief which shows a front half of a bull or cow (a "vanishing" cow), which is sometimes thought to be linked with the story of Archilochus and the Muses: Kontoleon 1956:35 f. and 1960:54, Clay 2004:54 and pl. 9. There are also some Classical period statues which modern authors have sometimes thought to represent Archilochus: the "Louvre Poet" (Musée du Louvre, Ma 588), a head from Hekatonpyliane (Paros Museum, inv. 345), and the "Old Singer" in Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (inv. no. 1563), see Poulsen 1954:77 (No. 53) and pl. xxxvi–xxxix, Kontoleon 1963:44, Johansen 1992:138–141 (No. 57), Clay 2004:32, 60 f., 121. Richter regards the latter's identification as Archilochus as dubious (1965:1.67 f.). The Ny Carlsberg statue is also thought to represent Pindar (Schefold 1943:138, 212–213) or Alcaeus (Lippold 1912:68 f., Zanker 1995: 146–149).

[40] Kontoleon 1955:59 ff., 1963:50. A feeble support to this view are the place-names found in the story, which are not directly necessary for the narrative. Burnett (who does not take the picture on the pyxis into account) suggests that the story was attached to Archilochus in the Hellenistic period during his transformation into hero-poet (1983: 18 f., cf. Lefkowitz 1981:27 ff.).

[41] See also Momigliano 1971:27 f.

[42] Three more oracles are connected with the establishment of Archilochus' cult.

The first oracle to Telesicles is about the future of his son. According to the Mnesiepes' Inscription, after Archilochus had met the Muses, lost the cow and received the lyre, his father wondered a lot about what had happened, and decided to enquire of the Pythia about this matter. Before he could ask anything, however, the Pythia spontaneously gave him the following oracle:

> Ἀθανατός σοι παῖς καὶ ἀοίδιμος, ὦ Τελεσίκλεις,
> ἔσσετ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν, ὃς ἂν πρῶτός σε προσείπῃ
> νηὸς σῆς ἀποβάντα φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.[43]
>
> *Immortal and renowned among men, Telesicles, will be the son of yours who will speak to you first when you disembark from the ship in your dear homeland.*

The Pythia does not specify which son of Telesicles is meant, but since Archilochus was his most famous and the only traditionally significant son, the oracle must have been attached to him from the very beginning.[44] An interesting feature of the oracle is the very traditional "first met" theme in it, which can be traced in various Greek sources as early as the fifth century.[45] Also the word ἀοίδιμος is intriguing, since in the early instances of its use (as by Homer and Stesichorus) the word has a passive meaning, "famed in song." Parke has argued that this meaning would apply just as well to a man of action as to the future poet, and if the word was used originally in this meaning, the oracle does not presume any

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About them see p. 107. About the oracles in Archilochus' tradition see also Marcaccini 2001:63 ff.

[43] Q 56 (Fontenrose) / PW (Parke-Wormell) 231. The whole story with the entire oracle is in the Mnesiepes' Inscription (A col. ii), the text of the oracle is also in *Anth. Pal.* 14.113. The shorter version of it is in Oenomaus ap. Eus. *PE* 5.32–39 and in Theodoretus' *Graec. affect. curatio* 10.36.

[44] None of the ancients seem to have taken Apollo's promise of immortality to Archilochus too verbatim, at least we have no reference to his being in the Isle of the Blessed or something similar, not even for fun as other poets such as Homer, Eunomus, Arion, Anacreon, Stesichorus and Hesiod are moved to the Isle of the Blessed after their death in Lucian *Ver. Hist.* 2.15, 22.

[45] Manto had to marry the first man she met on leaving the temple (L 2 (Fontenrose)/PW 20); in order to have a son, Cephalus had to mate with whichever female he first met (L 82/PW 322); in order to find water, the ruler of Haliartus had to kill the person he first met on his return to his homeland, who turned out to be his own son (L 128/PW 532); Xuthus enquired for a son and was told that the first person whom he met on leaving the shrine was his son (L 28/PW 190). Cf. also "the first heard" (Q 73/PW 23), "the first who welcomes" (Q 109/PW 60, Q 129/PW 78) motifs, etc. The earliest account is probably the "first to offer hospitality" in the oracle to the Dolonci about the elder Miltiades (Q 109/PW 60) attested in Hdt. 6.34–35. Manto's oracle is from the *Epigoni* or the *Thebais* (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.308, see Allen 1912:116).

knowledge of the future career of Archilochus.[46] I do not think, however, that we can separate the oracle from the poet's biographical tradition, since Archilochus was famous, ἀοίδιμος, only because of his poetry, and his life story developed around it. The oracle has no meaning without Archilochus' subsequent fame as a poet. Alternatively, the word ἀοίδιμος may be used in active sense, as it is attested from Pindar onwards, in which case the phrase in the oracle would mean "famous as a singer," which certainly presupposes acquaintance with Archilochus' biography.

The second oracle given to Telesicles is about the colonization of Thasos:

> ἄγγειλον Παρίοις, Τελεσίκλεες, ὥς σε κελεύω
> νήσῳ ἐν Ἠερίῃ κτίζειν εὐδείελον ἄστυ.[47]

This oracle, too, could be interpreted in two different ways. One way is to render ὥς in the phrase ὥς σε κελεύω as "that": "Tell to the Parians, Telesicles, that I bid you to found a far-seen city in the island of Eeria."[48] This translation would make Telesicles the one who has to lead the colonization of Thasos. The other possibility is to understand the phrase ὥς σε κελεύω parenthetically, in the sense of "as": "Tell to the Parians, Telesicles, as I bid you, to found a far-seen city in the island of Eeria."[49] In that case the Parians in general are those who have to found the colony, while Telesicles simply has to mediate the god's wish to them.[50] The oracle

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[46] Parke 1956:i.396f. About the change of the meaning of the word, see Breitenstein 1971:9f.

[47] Q 55/PW 230. Oenomaus ap. Eus. *PE* 6. 7 and 8, Steph. Byz. s.v. Θάσος.

[48] This is the common way to translate the oracle, see Gerber 1999:75, Fontenrose 1978:286, Edmonds 1931:85. For more examples see Graham 1978:76.

[49] See Graham 1978:76. The phrase νήσῳ ἐν Ἠερίῃ in the oracle is explained by Oenomaus as a reference to Thasos drawn from Archilochus' verses: καὶ ἔστι Θάσος μὲν ἡ Ἠερία νῆσος; ἥξουσι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν Πάριοι, Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ φράσαντος, ὅτι ἡ νῆσος αὕτη πρὶν Ἠερία ἐκαλεῖτο (Oenom. ap. Eus. *PE* 6.7, 8).

[50] From the point of view of ancient history writing, however, it seems not to be important in which way the ancients interpreted the oracle. Apparently they did not know when Telesicles lived, and accordingly did not try to date the colonization on the basis of the oracle, as has sometimes been done by modern commentators,—see for example Myres in CAH^2:654. The foundation date of Thasos given by Eusebius, 1425 BC (592 Abr.), depends on Herodotus' remark that Thasos was colonised by the Phoenicians when they sailed in search of Europa (Hdt 2.44). All Phoenicians in early Greek history were attached to the figure of Cadmus, and so Eusebius linked the foundation of Thasos to the date of Cadmus (Graham 1978:72). According to Clement, Xanthus of Lydia dated the colonization of Thasos in Ol.18 (708 BC) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus in Ol. 15 (720 BC) (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131). These dates depend on two synchronizations: Archilochus-Gyges, and Archilochus-Thasos, both derived from Archilochus' poetry (Gyges: fr. 19, Thasos: *passim*. See below p. 111ff.).

indicates that Archilochus' father Telesicles was thought to have been the founder of the colony in Thasos. It is not possible to determine whether this opinion was based on some independent tradition (the name of the *oikistes* was usually remembered in the community) or was derived from Archilochus' poetry in which Thasos certainly has a prominent place. If the first case is true, then also the oracle might be independent from the poetry.

The only oracle given for Archilochus himself is known from Oenomaus:

Ἀρχίλοχ' εἰς Θάσον ἐλθέ, καὶ οἴκει εὐκλέα νῆσον.[51]

This oracle too has an ambiguous meaning: the Pythia is telling the poet either to take part in or lead the (Parian) colonization of Thasos.[52] Archilochus was later certainly dated to the time of the foundation of the Thasian colony, which in turn, was placed in the time of the reign of Gyges with whom Archilochus was synchronized on the basis of his own verses. The other possibility is that the poet was, according to the oracle, only recommended to move to Thasos and to live there. This interpretation would suit the tradition (attested from the first part of the fifth century on), that he had lost his reputation and property in political strife on Paros.[53] In any case, it is clear that at least two oracles linked the poet and his father with Thasos, and the foundation of the colony on it. As far as we know, Archilochus did not mention the colonization of Thasos by Telesicles in his poetry, which may indicate that this belief

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[51] Q 57/PW 232. Oenom. ap. Eus. *PE* 5.31, p. 226a.

[52] To the latter interpretation may point Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131.7, where Archilochus is linked with the colonization of Thasos. Other poets who, according to tradition, led a colony are Semonides of Amorgus who founded three cities in Samos: Minoa, Aegialus and Arcesine (Suda s.v. Σιμωνίδης and the end of the account under s.v. Σιμμίας, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀμοργός, Tzetz. *Chil.* 12.52), and Solon who founded Soloi either in Cilicia (Diog. L. 1.51) or on Cyprus (Suda s.v. Σόλων).

[53] Oenomaus may have preferred this interpretation as he says (*ad. loc.*): ἢ Ἀρχιλόχῳ τῷ Παρίῳ ἀποβαλόντι τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν πολιτικῇ φλυαρίᾳ, καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ἥκοντι πρὸς σε, λέγειν Ἀρχίλοχ' κτλ. He may have nevertheless believed that Archilochus was an *oikistes*. The tradition that Archilochus was poor is reflected and may, in fact, have emerged from Pindar's verses: εἶδον γὰρ ἑκὰς ἐὼν τὰ πόλλ' ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ / ψογερὸν Ἀρχίλοχον βαρυλόγοις ἔχθεσιν / πιαινόμενον τὸ πλουτεῖν δὲ σὺν τύχᾳ / πότμου σοφίας ἄριστον (*P.* 2.52 ff.), though Pindar does not seem here to mean material poverty, as his scholiasts *ad locum* have assumed,—see the scholia *ad loc.* (*P.* 2.99–101, ii, p. 48 Dr.). See also Critias 88 B 44 DK: [Ἀρχίλοχος] καταλιπὼν Πάρον διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἀπορίαν ἦλθεν ἐς Θάσον. The only hint in Archilochus' extant poetry of the possibility that he could not have been very rich is his statement that he is a soldier.

emerged from some independent source. In that case, the oracles could also come from an independent tradition.[54]

On the third column of the stone A of the Mnesiepes' Inscription we find an exeedingly fragmentary text which may be, if the reconstructions are correct, an account of how Archilochus introduced a Dionysiac rite to Paros. The restored story would approximately go like this: at a festival Archilochus had improvised some indecent verses which concerned Dionysus. The verses offended the Parians who considered them to have been "too iambic" and the poet was found guilty in a public trial, for which Apollo, in turn, punished the citizens by striking them with impotence. The Parians sent a delegation to Delphi to discover the cause of the calamity, and received a response which told them to honour Archilochus. The Parians realised their mistake and introduced (with the help of Archilochus) a new form of cult to Dionysus.[55] The text of the oracle, of which only the beginnings of the lines have survived, has been reconstructed by Parke:

> Τίπτε δίκαις ἀν[όμοις κεχρημένοι ἠδὲ βίηφι]
> ἤλθετε πρὸς Π[υθὼ λοιμοῦ λύσιν αἰτήσοντες·]
> οὐκ ἔστιν πρὶν[Βάκχον ἀμείλιχον ἐξιλάσασθαι,]
> εἰς ὅ κεν Ἀρχίλ[οχον Μουσῶν θεράποντα τίητε.][56]

The association of the story with the cult performed in Paros refers to its Parian origin. The text is, however, too corrupt for making any far-reaching conclusions about connections between Archilochus and the cult of Dionysus.

There is also an oracle linked with Archilochus' death: the response given to Calondas.[57] He had slain Archilochus in a battle between the Parians and the Naxians. Later, when he came to Delphi and wished to consult the oracle, the Pythia repulsed him with the words: "you have killed the Muses' servant; leave the temple!" Calondas persisted in his

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[54] On the other hand, the whole strand of tradition about the colonization of Thasos may have derived secondarily from Archilochus' lost songs referring to his life on Thasos.

[55] See the reconstructions of the text in Kontoleon 1955:80, Gerber 1999:22 f., and Clay 2004:107–110. The verses quoted in the inscription are: ὁ Διόνυσος τ[/ ουλαστυαζ̣[/ὄμφακες α[/ σῦκα μελ[/ οἰφολίωι ερ[(fr. 251).

[56] Parke 1958:93, followed by Gerber 1999:22 f. The oracle is not printed in Parke-Wormell 1956 nor in Fontenrose 1978. Gerber's translation: "Why have you (who use illegal) judgements (and force) come to P(ytho to ask for a release from the pestilence)? It is not possible (to appease harsh Bacchus) until (you honour) Archilochus (servant of the Muses)."

[57] His name was Calondas according to Suda s.v. Ἀρχίλοχος, in Plut. *Mor.* 560de it is Callondes, and Oenomaeus (ap. Eus. *PE* 5.32–39) calls the killer Archias.

innocence arguing that he had killed Archilochus in war, and what he had done was a question of kill or be killed. Finally the Pythia relented to the extent of telling him to go to the tomb (or house) of Tettix in Taenarum and appease the soul of the poet with libations. He obeyed and became free of blood-guilt.[58] Taenarum, where the entrance to Hades was believed to be located, was certainly a suitable place to conciliate spirits of the dead.[59] Tettix was, according to Plutarch, a Cretan man who had come across the sea and founded a city not far from the *psychopompeion* at Taenarum.[60] His house or tomb was chosen by the Pythia probably because Archilochus had compared himself with a cicada (*tettix*).[61]

Forrest has argued in his study of Greek colonization that the combined interests of Corinth and Chalcis in colonizing the West were furthered by Apollo's oracle at Delphi, which in turn was rewarded as success crowned the western venture and its reputation was born in Magna Graecia. At the same time Delphi is absent from accounts of the colonial activity of Corinth's competitors, prime among them Miletus. In Forrest's view, Delphi ought to have no place in the foundation of Thasos the colony of Paros, which was in the rival colonizing bloc led by Miletus. Accordingly, Delphi should have had little or no place in the Archilochus' tradition.[62] Tarditi, trying to solve the problem, has suggested that Delphi came into the picture much later, in the 5th century BC, when Archilochus' reputation had been broadly diffused through Greece by rhapsodes' recitation of his work and embellishments upon the elements in his life.[63] Parke and Wormell, in turn, proposed that since the Delphic authorities in the seventh century were particularly sensitive on the subject of blood-guilt, the oracle given to Calondas may originate from that time.[64] Parke suggests that interest in the legends of

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58 Q 58/PW 4–5. Heracl. Pont. *Pol.* 8, Plin. *NH* 7.29, Plut. *Mor.* 560de, Dio Chrys. 2.33.11, Aristides *Orat.* 46.293 f., Galen. *Protrept.* 9.22, Origen *C. Celsum* 3.25, Suda s.v. Ἀρχίλοχος.

59 When Heracles descended to Hades to fetch Cerberus and rescue Theseus from the Underworld, he went there through the cave in Taenarum (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.12).

60 Plut. *Mor.* 560e.

61 Only one line of the particular poem has survived: τέττιγος ἐδράξω πτεροῦ (fr. 223, ap. Lucian. *Pseudolog.* 1). Lucian gives the context and meaning of the phrase saying that Archilochus, being abused by someone who could not encounter the bitterness of his iambics, likened himself to the cicada which is by nature vociferous even without any compulsion and which cries out more loudly whenever it is caught by the wing.

62 Forrest 1957:163–170.

63 See p. 90 with n. 12.

64 Parke and Wormell 1956:i.397.

Archilochus, which may have arisen from this particular episode of his killer's inquiry, continued into succeeding generations and led ultimately, probably by the end of the fifth century, to the concoction of additional oracular responses connecting the poet and Pythian Apollo. In the third century Mnesiepes, while gathering the Delphian tradition which contained mainly the oracles, may have added it to the tradition from the "men of old," i.e. the local Parian lore, and recorded it in marble.[65] It is evident that Delphi had a significant part in the formation of Archilochus' biography, but it remains unclear when the oracles were formed. Clearly, the oracles could not have come into being in isolation from the tradition of Archilochus, they must have been formed around it and supported by it. Perhaps it is worth recalling that the oracle given to Telesicles about his son's future contains a very traditional "first met" motive. Although it is hard to date such a common motif, it would not be out of place in an early context.

6. *Archilochus and the cult of gods*

Some fragments of Archilochus' poetry and references in tradition have led modern commentators to suggest that the poet and his family were professionally associated with worship of Demeter and Dionysus in Paros and Thasos.[66] In fragment 20 Dionysus and dithyramb are mentioned, and Mnesiepes' Inscription may present a story of the introduction of Dionysiac cult to Paros in which Archilochus had a central role.[67] Also the general tone of several verses praising wine and love confirms the importance of the Bacchic god in Archilochus' mind.[68] Fragment 169 may be a part of the hymn to Demeter, perhaps even a scrap of the same hymn which, according to tradition, brought victory to Archilochus at the contest held in Paros.[69] Fragment 322, a remnant of *Iobacchus*, which West lists as spurious but was ascribed to Archilochus in antiquity,

[65] Parke 1958:94. Also the initiative to set up altars to several gods and to honour Archilochus in the Archilocheion came from Delphi, see p. 107.

[66] West 1974:24, Gentili 1988:194, Brown 1997:25, Gerber 1999:2–3, *et al.*

[67] Mnesiepes' Inscription A col. iii, but see above, p. 100.

[68] For example frr. 2, 4, 120, 194, 290, 196, 196a. However, although Anacreon has numerous allusions to wine and he was called the servant of Dionysus, no one has suggested that he carried any formal duties concerning Dionysus' cult.

[69] Schol. Ar. *Av.* 1764 (see the scholia collected around fr. 324 in West's *Iambi et elegi Graeci*, pp. 104–106). Fragment 169 contains only four words: Δήμητρί τε χεῖρας ἀνέξων.

mentions the festival of Demeter and Core.[70] We also know that Paros was one of the oldest centres of the worship of Demeter outside Eleusis itself, and that, according to the account of Pausanias, it was believed that the cult was taken from Paros to Thasos by Cleoboea the contemporary of the poet's grandfather with whom she is depicted on a fifth century BC painting.[71] West has suggested that the poetic genre *iambus* has its origins in the cults of Demeter and Dionysus. He associates the word ἴαμβος with διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος, and ἴθυμβος, words linked with the worship of Dionysus; and also with Ἰάμβη a woman from the *Hymn to Demeter* who made the grieving goddess laugh by jest and bantering (lines 195–204). West concludes that the genre *iambus* is conventionally invective and obscene, and Archilochus as a representative of the genre often used its conventions in his poetry.[72] The etymological approach applied by West in his argumentation on the development of *iambus* has been questioned by many,[73] but the kernel of his theory has persisted and been developed, and during a quarter of century it has taken a quite generally accepted form that Archilochus represents a blame poet who composed in a traditional environment, using conventional αἰσχρολογία to protect his community from anyone who threatened its stability.[74]

In the discussion about Archilochus' family's connections with cult the importance of the worship of two gods, Demeter and Dionysus, is often emphasized. The several references to Dionysus and the collocation of Tellis with the priestess of Demeter on the painting of Polygnotus have suggested the possibility that Tellis (and consequently also Telesicles and Archilochus) belonged to a priestly family with special connections with

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70 The fragment is ascribed to Archilochus by Hephaestio *Ench.* 15.16.

71 About the cult of Demeter on Paros see *Hymn to Demeter* v. 491, and Richardson 1974:213 and 321 (*ad loc.*). Cleoboea: Paus. 10.28.3. On a Parian silver coin (in the Münzkabinett der Stadt Winterthur) from the first century BC a young Dionysus is represented. On the reverse is a seated man, holding a lyre in his left hand and a book roll in his right hand, and inscriptions ΠΑΡΙΩΝ and ΠΕΙΣΙΒ, which probably refer to the Parian archon (Clay 2004:169 n. 149). The poet is not identified by name. Schefold (1943:78, 172, 219), Zankler (1995:163–165), and Clay (2004:61 f., 122) have suggested that he is Archilochus, but see Richter 1965:1.67.

72 West 1974:23–27, cf. also Nagy 1976:191–193.

73 Carey 1986:60–67, Brown 1997:40–41, Rösler 1976:300–308, Bonnano 1980:65–88, Degani 1980:513, Gentili 1982:24 n. 50.

74 The ritual background and the purpose of iambus is explained by Brown 1997:40–42, cf. also Nagy 1976:191–205, Henderson 1976:160, Gerber 1999:2 f., Kurke 2000:69. The biggest opponents to this theory are those who regard Lycambes and his daughters as historical persons: see Rankin 1977:30–56 and 1978:10–19, Burnett 1983:22 f.

these two gods.[75] However, among his extant poetry we find fragments which may be remnants of hymns to other gods: for Zeus (177), Hephaestus (108), Apollo (26), and Heracles (324).[76] In addition, there are references to Archilochus' and his family's connections with Apollo: the poet's encounter with the Muses, Telesicles' mission to Delphi, the oracles, and the anger of Apollo at Calondas. Thus it seems that if we leave aside Pausanias' late statement about Tellis and Cleoboea, which is only indirectly linked with Archilochus anyway, and the tentative reconstructions of the extremely corrupted passage in the inscription of Mnesiepes discussed above, we have no solid information that any ancient author had ever claimed Archilochus or his family to have had specific hereditary religious duties towards Dionysus, Demeter or any other god. As a poet, he may well have composed hymns and praises to any god, according to the need, without any special professional obligation.

7. *Lycambes and his daughters*

According to tradition, Lycambes a Parian nobleman had two or three daughters, one of them called Neoboule.[77] Neoboule was promised as Archilochus' bride but eventually not given to him, and Archilochus, in anger, composed such abusive, slanderous and obscene poems against Lycambes and the girls, that they all or some of them hanged themselves.

In Archilochus' extant poetry only five fragments refer to the characters of the story without doubt: fr. 118 and 196a mention Neoboule, 172 and 173 refer to the change of heart of "father Lycambes," 38 speaks about the younger daughter of Lycambes.[78] In addition we have a fragmentary

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[75] See Treu 1959:250. Further support for this hypothesis about the status of the poet's family has been sought from the names Tellis and Telesicles which seem to be hieratic, suggesting τέλεα. See West 1976:24, Brown 1997:45, also Burnett 1983:25 and Rankin 1977:17.

[76] Fr. 324 with scholia *ad loc.* See also p. 95. Heracles had a strong cult in Thasos where he and Dionysus were honoured together as the sons of Zeus (Pi. fr. 192.36–43 T, cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.9). An early fifth-century gate at Thasos had an inscription which manifested Dionysus and Heracles as the guards of the city (IG xii 8. 356).

[77] If the girl in the Cologne fragment (fr. 196a) is Neoboule's sister, then Lycambes' wife was called Amphimedo.

[78] Although Lycambes is not mentioned by name in fr. 173, the context shows that it is he who has broken his promise. Fr. 196a tells the story of how Neoboule's sister(?) was seduced by a young man (Archilochus?).

papyrus where Lycambes may be referred to.[79] Outside of Archilochus' poetry the story is attested from the fifth century onwards. The first extant reference is made by Cratinus who calls Lycambes a general since he battled with Archilochus.[80] From Hellenistic authors more information about the story is preserved: in the epigrams of Dioscorides and Meleager Archilochus is said to have abused and slandered the daughters of Lycambes unjustly and without any basis, a fragmentary papyrus from the third century BC possibly mentions Lycambes' virgin daughters twice, and in the Mnesiepes' Inscription Lycambes is referred to as Telesicles' travel companion on his mission to Delphi.[81] It seems that the story became truly popular in the Roman era,—perhaps because of the development of satire. Ovid, Horace and Martial all knew the story well and referred to it, Gaetulicus and Julian wrote epigrams where they claimed that three or two daughters, respectively, hanged themselves, and also Lucian mentions the story several times.[82] According to Aristides, Archilochus slandered Lycambes and also Cheidos (or Charilaus), Pericles, and a seer, and we have a scholium which says that Archilochus was killed by his enemies, because he composed slanderous poems against them.[83] A comparable story exists about Hipponax and the brothers Boupalus and Athenis the sculptors of Chios, who committed suicide because of Hipponax' invectives.[84]

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[79] POxy 2312 = frr. 54, 57, 60: Λυκά]μβα (fr. 54.8); Δω]τάδεω πατρ[(fr. 57, cf. Hesych. s.v. Δωτάδης· Δώτου υἱος, ὁ Λυκάμβας); λυκ[. (fr. 60).

[80] Cratin. fr. 138 K.-A. There are a few more uncertain references to the story from the Classical period, those in which Archilochus is criticized for his slanderous and rude style and for his sexual appetite and arrogance: Pi. *P.* 2.52, Critias 88 B 44, Alcid. ap. Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1398b.

[81] Dioscorides in *Anth. Pal.* (7.352 HE 1555–1564), Meleager in *Anth. Pal.* 7.352, P.Dublin inv. 193a: Λυκά]μβεω παρθένους and Λυκ]άμβεω θύγατρες. The reference to Lycambes in the Mnesiepes' Inscription (A col. ii) is not necessary for the course of the story, which may point to the possibility that a Parian source existed which told the story of the Muses, the story of how Telesicles and Lycambes went to Delphi, and perhaps also the story of Lycambes and his daughters.

[82] Ovid *Ib.* 53 f., 521–524 + scholia *ad loc.*; Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.23, *Epod.* 6.11 + scholia *ad loc.*; Mart. 7.12.6; Gaetulicus in *Anth. Pal.* 7.71; Julian in *Anth. Pal.* 7.69; Luc. *Am.* 3, *Pseudol.* 1–2 + scholia ad Luc. *Bis acc.* According to [Acro], Lycambes and one daughter, or only the daughters hanged themselves (scholia ad Hor. *Epod.* 6.11–14). Eustathius says that the daughters committed suicide (Eustath. in *Od.* 11.277), and in the schol. ad Ov. *Ib.* 54 the whole family, Lycambes, his wife and their daughter killed themselves.

[83] Aristid. *Orat.* 46, schol. ad Ov. *Ib.* 521. Liebel emended Χαρίλαον *pro* Χειδόν. About Pericles see p. 93. The seer is, perhaps, Batusiades mentioned in fr. 182, cf. Hesychius *Lex.* s.v. Σελληΐδεω· Σελ⟨λ⟩έως υἱός, ὁ μάντις, Βατουσιάδης τὸ ὄνομα. Philostratus informs us that Archilochus used fable in his attack against Lycambes (*Imag.* 1.3).

[84] Plin. *NH* 36.5.2 etc., see also p. 127. According to a muddled scholiast, Archilochus

The stories such as quarrels and love-affairs of a famous poet, his disappointment and wrath after being rejected by the bride's father, and his subsequent revenge, fit well in comic context. We know that Diphilus made both Archilochus and Hipponax to be lovers of Sappho in his comedy, and that the accounts of Hipponax' quarrel with Boupalus, and of Sappho's love for Phaon were employed by other comedy writers.[85] Although we have no other direct evidence than the above-mentioned reference to the "general Lycambes" by Cratinus, it would not be surprising if the comic poets had made use of and embellished the story of Lycambes (known from Archilochus' poetry) in their works, for example in Cratinus' *Archilochoi* or Alexis' *Archilochos*.[86]

8. *The death of Archilochus*

The commonest and the most wide-spread (and historically probably the trustworthiest) opinion is that Archilochus died in battle.[87] It is not, however, the only opinion. Ovid hints that Archilochus died a violent death because of his combative iambics but does not give any details.[88] His scholiast is more specific and states that Archilochus was killed by his offended enemies, and another scholiast says that after the poet had forced Lycambes to hang himself, the latter's friends pursued him and eventually drove him to commit suicide.[89]

composed invective iambics against Lycambes because the daughter of Hipponax who had been betrothed to Archilochus was eventually given to Lycambes (schol. ad Ov. *Ib.* 521).

[85] Diphilus fr. 71 K.-A. About Hipponax and Boupalus see p. 127, and about Sappho and Phaon, p. 179.

[86] Cratin. frr. 1–16 K.-A., Alexis frr. 22–23 K.-A. The chorus of the *Archilochoi* may have been made up of the characters of famous poets (Wilson 1977:279). The circumstance that the name of Archilochus was chosen for the title of the play implies that his poetry and person must have been well known among the fifth century Athenian audience. In his *Peace* (1298 ff.) Aristophanes uses Archilochus' poem of the lost shield for the purpose of mocking Cleonymus, a political figure not noted for his courage in battle: his son is made to quote Archilochus' lines as if they were arguments for peace, which, of course, they are not.

[87] Mnesiepes' Inscription B col. i, and the story of Calondas in Heracl. Pont. *Pol.* 8, Plin. *NH* 7.29, Plut. *Mor.* 560de, etc. (see also p. 100 with n. 58).

[88] Ov. *Ib.* 521–524. He obviously was not aware of the story of Calondas.

[89] Schol. ad Ov. *Ib.* 251, pp. 156 f. La Penna. Pliny (*NH* 7.29) mentions the murderers (in plural) but says, at the same time, that the killers were accused by Apollo for murdering the poet,—obviously having in mind the story of Calondas.

Sosthenes' Inscription may include an account of Archilochus' death and magnificent burial on Paros in one of its highly corrupt columns.[90] Modern commentators have suggested that Archilochus, as an important citizen probably of noble birth, was buried in the agora of Paros.[91]

The earliest extant epitaph associated with Archilochus is from the fourth century BC. It is the so-called Docimus' Inscription on a Ionic capital found on Paros, which mentions Telesicles as the poet's father and Paros as his home.[92] In addition, there are two purely literary epitaphs by later authors: Gaetulicus admonishes a traveller to pass the grave quietly lest the waspish poet should awake, and the emperor Hadrian blames the Muse for having driven the poet to compose savage iambs.[93]

9. *The cult of Archilochus*

The beginning of the Mnesiepes' Inscription describes the establishment of cult in the Archilocheion on Paros. According to it, Apollo gave three oracles concerning the precinct which Mnesiepes was constructing. First he told Mnesiepes to set up the altar and sacrifices to the Muses, Apollo Musagetes and Mnemosyne, to sacrifice to Zeus Hyperdexius, Athena Hyperdexia, Poseidon Asphaleius, Heracles and Artemis Euclea, and to send thank-offerings to Apollo at Delphi. The second oracle advised Mnesiepes to establish an altar to Dionysus, the Nymphs and the Seasons, and to offer sacrifice to Apollo Prostaterius, Poseidon Asphaleius and to Heracles and, again, to send thank-offerings to Apollo in Delphi. The third oracle admonishes to honour Archilochus the poet. Mnesiepes and his companions did everything according to Apollo's wish, they called the area Archilocheion, set up the altars, sacrificed both to the gods and to Archilochus, and honoured the poet.[94] Therefore, the cult of Archilochus, which included sacrifices to the poet, was established on Paros in the third century BC at latest.[95] Clay, following Kontoleon's suggestion that

[90] Block B col. Vb(?) in Gerber 1999, block C col. i (Vb) in Clay 2004. See the reconstruction in Clay 2004:115.

[91] Clay 2004:36, 67, on the basis of the arrangement of "agora of the gods" on Thasos, which may perhaps reflect back the practice of the mother city Paros. I cannot agree with Clay's further implication that the tomb in the agora necessarily means that the poet was worshipped as a hero with offerings from the Archaic period on (cf. Clay 2004 *passim*).

[92] *Cit.* in p. 92 n. 18, and Clay 2004:28 f.

[93] *Anth. Pal.* 7.71 and 7.674.

[94] Mnesiepes' Inscription A(E_1) col. i.

[95] Although the Sosthenes' Inscription does not mention the cult or offerings to

the unnamed hero figure on the late-archaic Totenmahl relief found on Paros might be Archilochus, is of the opinion that the cult can be traced back to the end of the sixth century BC.[96] The relief represents a seated woman holding a veil and looking towards the figure of reclining man facing her. Behind the male figure, a boy stands in profile looking at the other two figures and completing the composition. The identification of the reclining male figure depends on the images of a shield, helmet, and an object which Clay suggests to be a spear hanging on the "wall" above the figure, and on the interpretation of the empty socket with a shallow collar and the smooth oval area, both behind the figure of the boy on the upper right hand part of the relief. Kontoleon and Clay suggest that the socket may have contained a metal phiale (or other drinking vessel) or a metal wreath, and in the smooth area Kontoleon saw an outline of an inverted lyre.[97] These objects would make a strong case for identification of the represented man as Archilochus the soldier and the poet, but we must bear in mind that both interpretations are very tentative and the suggested objects (phiale, wreath, lyre) are missing.[98] Also Clay's "spear" is rather short. Another source in which Clay sees a support for existence of the cult comes from Alcidamas who reports that the Parians honoured (τετιμήκασι) Archilochus even though he was slanderous.[99] Alcidamas continues, however, with a list of poets (Homer, Sappho) and philosophers (Pythagoras, Chilon, Anaxagoras), whose high reputation, despite their different shortcomings (such as being a woman, foreigner, or too learned) he found to be surprising. Alcidamas says nothing about cult, offerings, altars etc., he only states that these people were honoured/respected by their cities.[100] Therefore, there is no solid evi-

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Archilochus, the very existence of a long document about "the great many deeds of the poet" supports the view that Archilochus had a formal cult in the Archilocheion (where the marble blocks of Sosthenes' Inscription were probably set up) throughout the Hellenistic period.

[96] Kontoleon 1965:1.359–363, Clay 2004:40–54, pl. 13–19.

[97] Kontoleon 1965:1.354 f., but cf. Dentzer 1982:256 f. Clay is careful about the "inverted lyre," see 2004:51–54.

[98] See also MacPhail's review in BMCR 2005.09.32.

[99] Alcid. ap. Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1398b.

[100] Most of the sources in Clay's catalogue of the evidence for the cult of poets (2004: 127–153) belong in the Hellenistic or later period. Classical period accounts in his catalogue do not provide strong enough evidence for the existence of hero cult of the poets: the presence of a funerary monument, statues, literary epitaphs or coins representing the poets, is not enough to prove the existence of the established practice of formal cult concerning the poets. The few exceptions had a cult in Classical period not because of their poetic activity, but because they had established a cult themselves with

dence for cult of Archilochus before the Hellenistic period.[101] I tend to think that Archilochus was honoured, with no formal cult, simply as a very good and famous poet (and not as a hero) already in his lifetime and after his death more or less continuously throughout the Archaic and Classical period. The formal cult, similar to hero cult including *temenos* and sacrifices, was developed only in the Hellenistic time when the cities all over Greece boosted their self-confidence and pride by heroizing the great men of their distant past (poets, philosophers, warriors), and establishing formal cults for them.[102]

10. *Ancient criticism of Archilochus*

Archilochus was much praised for the power and spirit of his poetry and for his innovative metre and lively style.[103] Plato mentions him next to Homer and Hesiod as an author whose poetry all good rhapsodes knew and were able to perform; Plutarch talks about Archilochus and Hesiod as poets who both were honoured after their death because of the Muses; Hippodromus compares Archilochus with Homer calling the latter the voice of the sophists, but Archilochus their soul.[104] The fact that Archilochus was frequently associated with Homer and Hesiod is certainly a sign of his fame and high reputation among ancient authors, even

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which they became linked: Sophocles was worshipped in a private cult not for his poetic activity but because of his action of receiving Asclepius (IG II^2 1252, 1253, Plut. *Numa* 4.8, *Etymologicum Genuinum* 256.6, Ister *Vita Soph.*, *Anth. Pal.* 6.145); the Thebans honoured Pindar with ceremonies because he had set up a statue of the Mother of the Gods and Pan, and another one for Demeter in front of his house after the divinities had appeared to him, or they had been heard singing his songs (Aristod. 383 F 13, *Vita Ambrosiana, scol. vet.* 1.2.1–10 Dr.). Pausanias' report (9.23.3) about the Pythia's order to the citizens of Delphi that they should give to Pindar one half of all the first fruits they offered to Apollo, may be connected with the previous accounts. And if not, it seems that Pindar was honoured as a poet rather than a hero, as Pausanias refers also to his initiation to song and his great reputation as a poet in this context, and links him firmly with Apollo the god of music and poetry. About heroization of the poets see also p. 222 below.

[101] About the oracles, which Clay also uses as his argument, see p. 96. None of them refers to any formal cult practice concerning Archilochus.

[102] See Davies 1984:318–319, Zanker 1995:158–173, Clay 2004:81, 94.

[103] See for example, [Longin.] *De subl.* 33.4; Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.23; Quint. 10.1.60; Iulian. Imp. *Or.* 7.207bc.

[104] Pl. *Ion* 531a–532a, Plut. *Numa* 4.6 (62c), Hippodr. ap Philostr. *V.S.* 6.620. See also Alcidamas' passage (ap. Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1398b) discussed in the previous section, in which Archilochus is mentioned alongside Homer and other famous people. Archilochus and Homer were connected also by chronography, see p. 112.

though the first example of that kind of account was not complimentary at all: according to Heraclitus, both Homer and Archilochus deserved to be chased from the contests and flogged.[105]

Despite a generally high evaluation of his poetry, the poet's choice of themes was often criticised. This view is perhaps most precisely summed up by Quintilian: "We find in him the greatest force of expression, statements not only vigorous but also concise and vibrant, and abundance of vitality and energy, to the extent that in the view of some where he falls short is through a defect of subject matter rather than of his genius."[106] The author of *On the Sublime* thought that much of Archilochus' poetry, though divine in spirit and comparable to Homer's verses, was ill-arranged.[107] Ancient authors strongly disapproved of the poet's sharp-tongued and bellicose character. The audience had probably no difficulties to recall the slanderous poems towards Lycambes when Pindar said: "Although far away, I have seen blameful Archilochus in extreme want, fattening himself on heavy-worded hatreds."[108] And Callimachus: "[Archilochus] drew in the dog's bitter bile and the wasp's sharp sting, and has poison from both." Critias decried him as being licentious and an adulterer, quarrelsome and harsh equally towards both friends and enemies. But even more than that he disapproved of the poet's habit of revealing his personality in all its defects without concealing discreditable facts such as being the son of a slave woman, his poverty and the loss of the shield.[109] The latter incident, according to tradition, troubled the Lacedaemonians and caused them to banish Archilochus (or rather his poems) from their city.[110] Even a proverb "Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς" ("you are trampling on Archilochus") was formed and applied to those who revile others as Archilochus had done.[111]

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[105] Heracl. 22 B 42 DK. Heraclitus' obscure words have been a matter of discussion, see for example Nagy 1989:38, and Graziosi 2002:29 f. As a further example of Archilochus' fame, see the anecdote about Plato and Gorgias (Hermipp. ap Ath. 505de).

[106] Quint. 10.1.59.

[107] [Longin.] *De subl.* 13.3, 33.5.

[108] Pi. *P.* 2.52–56.

[109] Callim. fr. 380 Pf.; Crit. 88 B 44, see the discussion in Rankin 1975:323 f. and 1977:4; and in Slings 1990:26 f. Cf. also Plut. *Mor.* 520ab; Diogen. *Pareom.* 2.59; Cratin. fr. 138 K.-A.; Dioscorides in *Anth. Pal.* 7.351; Meleager in *Anth. Pal.* 7.352; Hor. *AP* 79, Ov. *Ib.* 53, 521–524 with scholia *ad loc.*

[110] See p. 94 n. 34.

[111] Diogen. *Paroem.* 2.95, Apostolius *Paroem.* 4.2, Suda s.v. Ἀρχίλοχος. See also the saying "τέττιγα τὸν ἄνδρα εἰληφέναι τοῦ πτεροῦ" ("a man has caught a cicada by its wing") (Luc. *Pseudol.* 1–2).

On the other hand, there were many serious treatises on Archilochus' style and poetry of which some are known to us only by titles: Aristotle's Ἀπορήματα Ἀρχιλόχου, Heraclides Ponticus' Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ Ὁμήρου α'β', Aristarchus' commentary on Archilochus whom he considered to be the best of the three most important iambic poets.[112] Apollonius Rhodius is known to have written a treatise Περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, and Aristophanes of Byzantium a commentary on Archilochus' poems.[113]

The criticism about Archilochus' poetry and his personality was current already in the beginning of the fifth century BC (Heraclitus, Pindar, Critias), and continued well into late antiquity. The ancients, in describing and reproving his personality, relied on his poetry, and there is no sign that they had ever doubted the autobiographical character of Archilochus' verses.

11. *The date of Archilochus*

Archilochus was most often synchronized with the Lydian king Gyges. The obvious reason for this is the reference to the king in his verses.[114] Also Strabo's opinion that Archilochus lived about the time of the invasion of the Cimmerians and the destruction of Magnesia, must derive from the same mention of Gyges in Archilochus' poem, since the

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[112] Hesych. *Vita Aristotelis* p. 16 Rose, Heracl. fr. 178 Wehrli, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.21.117; Quint. 10.1.60.

[113] Ath. 451d, 85e.

[114] Archil. fr. 19:

> οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει,
> οὐδ' εἷλέ πώ με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι
> θεῶν ἔργα, μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος;
> ἀπόπροθεν γάρ ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐμῶν.

The synchronism Archilochus-Gyges: Hdt. 1.12: Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης; τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.

Tatian. *adv. Graec.* 31: ἕτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ὑπήγαγον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον εἰπόντες; ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίλοχος ἤκμασε περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστήν, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδόν, ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι πεντακοσίοις.

Eus. *PE* 10.11.4: τινὲς δὲ πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἔφασαν αὐτὸν [i.e. Ὅμηρον] γεγονέναι, τουτέστι μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις; ἕτεροι δὲ κάτω τὸν χρόνον ὑπήγαγον, σὺν Ἀρχιλόχῳ γεγονέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον εἰπόντες; ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίλοχος ἤκμασε

Cimmerians, as was well known, had entered Asia and captured Sardis in the time of Gyges' son Ardys.[115]

Another person with whom Archilochus was synchronized is Homer, and consequently, Homer was sometimes thought to have been a contemporary with Gyges.[116] The chronographers (Tatian, Theopompus and others) dated the synchronism of Archilochus-Gyges-Homer to the time 500 years after the fall of Troy.[117] The ancient dates for synchronism Homer-Gyges (Ol.18 or 708/5 BC by Euphorion), and for Homer-Gyges-Archilochus (Ol.23 or 688/5 BC by Tatian, Eusebius, Cyril and Syncellus) fall almost precisely 500 years after the end of the Trojan War, only they were computed with different starting points: Euphorion used *Marmor Parium*'s date for the fall of Troy: 1209/8 – 500 = 709/8 (Ol.18.1), while others began their calculations from 1185/4 which is Eratosthenes' (and Apollodorus') date for the fall of Troy (1185 – 500 = 685 (Ol.23.4)).[118] The Eusebian date for Archilochus, Ol.29 (664/1), seems to rely on the synchronism Archilochus-Gyges as well, only this time the poet is linked with the end of the reign of Gyges.[119] Eusebius probably combined

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περὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα τρίτην καὶ εἰκοστήν, κατὰ Γύγην τὸν Λυδόν, ὕστερον τῶν Ἰλιακῶν ἔτεσι πεντακοσίοις.

Procl. *Chrest.* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 339: ἰάμβων δὲ ποιηταὶ Ἀρχίλοχός τε ὁ Πάριος ἄριστος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ἀμόργιος ἤ, ὡς ἔνιοι, Σάμιος, … καὶ Ἱππῶναξ Ἐφέσιος; ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἐπὶ Γύγου, ὁ δὲ ἐπ' Ἀργαίου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, Ἱππῶναξ δὲ κατὰ Δαρεῖον ἤκμασε.

[115] Str. 14.1.40 (647–648): καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ συνέβη τοῖς Μάγνησιν ὑπὸ Τρηρῶν ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι, Κιμμερικοῦ ἔθνους, εὐτυχήσαντας πολὺν χρόνον, τὸ δ' ἑξῆς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους κατασχεῖν τὸν τόπον. Καλλῖνος μὲν οὖν ὡς εὐτυχούντων ἔτι τῶν Μαγνήτων μέμνηται καὶ κατορθούντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους πολέμῳ, Ἀρχίλοχος δὲ ἤδη φαίνεται γνωρίζων τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν. ἐξ οὗ καὶ [αὐ]τὸν νεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ Καλλίνου τεκμαίρεσθαι πάρεστιν. The invasion of the Cimmerians in the reign of Ardys: Hdt. 1.15. Cf. Archil. fr. 20, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131. See Jacoby 1941.

[116] Archilochus-Homer: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.117: ναὶ μὴν Θεόπομπος μὲν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν μετὰ ἔτη πεντακόσια τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰλίῳ στρατευσάντων γεγονέναι τὸν Ὅμηρον ἱστορεῖ. Εὐφορίων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλευαδῶν κατὰ Γύγην αὐτὸν τίθησι γεγονέναι, ὅς βασιλεύειν ἤρξατο ἀπὸ τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος, ὅν καὶ φησι πρῶτον ὠνομάσθαι τύραννον.

Syncellus, *Chronogr.* 181: καὶ ἕτεροι (*scil.* φασὶ γεγονέναι Ὅμηρον' κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον περὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ ἔτη φ' που τῆς ἁλώσεως Τροίας.

Homer-Gyges: Euphorion, Tatian, Eusebius (*cit. loc.*).

[117] *Cit. loc.* and Theopompus 115 F 205.

[118] *Cit. loc.* and Cyrill. *contra Iulian.* 1.12: εἰκοστῇ τρίτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι φασὶ γενέσθαι Ἀρχίλοχον. The *Marmor's* date of the fall of Troy: FGrHist. 239 A 24. See Mosshammer 1979:212 f., and Jacoby 1902:145.

[119] Eus. Ol.29.1: *Archilochus et Simonides et Aristoxenus musicus inlustres habentur.*

Herodotus' information that the Cimmerians' invasion in Asia took place in the time of Ardys the successor of Gyges, and Strabo's account that Archilochus had mentioned the fall of Magnesia, which was known to have been destroyed by the Cimmerians.[120] The same strand of tradition lies probably also behind Nepos' account that Archilochus was well-known at the time of Tullus Hostilius, since 664 falls in the period of 672–640 when, according to Cato's reckoning of the founding of Rome, Tullus ruled in Rome.[121]

Next, Archilochus was synchronized with the colonization of Thasos. Clement transmits two dates for that event: Ol.18 (by Xanthus) and Ol.15 (by Dionysius of Halicarnassus).[122] Both dates are obviously deduced from the date of Archilochus: Ol.18 (708/5) is the date given by Euphorion (referred by Clement) for Homer and Gyges and, consequently, also for Archilochus who was synchronised with the first two. The Dionysian date for Thasos (720/17) relies most probably on the Herodotean Mermnad chronology, according to which the Mermnads ruled 170 years, and the reign of Gyges (who was on the throne for 38 years) would fall in between 717 and 679 BC, if one starts counting from the Apollodoran date 546/45 for the fall of Croesus.[123] In other

Ol.29.1 is the last year for Gyges in Eusebius. This date may reflect the Apollodoran date for Archilochus, see Jacoby 1941:100 (but cf. Mosshammer 1979:215).

[120] Hdt. 1.15, Archil. fr. 20, Str. 14.1.40 (647–648), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131; cf. Parker 1997:59, 70–76.

[121] Nepos ap. Gell. *NA* 17.21.8: *Archilochum autem Nepos Cornelius tradit Tullo Hostilio Romae regnante iam tunc fuisse poematis clarum et nobilem*. See Mosshammer 1979:215. Cf. Cicero *Tusc. disp.* 1.1.3: *Homerus fuit et Hesiodus ante Romam conditam, Archilochus regnante Romulo*.

[122] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131.6: ναὶ μὴν καὶ Τέρπανδρον ἀρχαΐζουσί τινες· Ἑλλάνικος (4 F 85b) γοῦν τοῦτον κατὰ Μίδαν γεγονέναι, Φανίας (fr. 33 Wehrli) δὲ πρὸ Τερπάνδρου τιθεὶς Λέσχην τὸν Λέσβιον Ἀρχιλόχου νεώτερον φέρει τὸν Τέρπανδρον, διημιλλῆσθαι δὲ τὸν Λέσχην Ἀρκτίνῳ καὶ νενικηκέναι· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ὀλυμπιάδα (708/5) (ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος, περὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην) (720/17) Θάσον ἐκτίσθαι, ὡς εἶναι συμφανὲς τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον μετὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἤδη γνωρίζεσθαι ὀλυμπιάδα (700/697). μέμνηται γοῦν καὶ τῆς Μαγνήτων ἀπωλείας προσφάτως γεγενημένης. Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον φέρεται, Καλλῖνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῷ· τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπολωλότων, ὃ δὲ εὐημερούντων μέμνηται.

[123] On the basis of Hdt 1.7–26 and Apollod. in Diog. L. 2.3 (cf. Jacoby 1902:193):

1. Gyges reigned 38 years, 717–679 BC;
2. Ardys 49 years, 679–630 BC;
3. Sadyattes 12 years, 630–618 BC;
4. Alyattes 57 years, 618–561 BC;
5. Croesus 14 years, 561–547/6 BC

words, Dionysius clearly synchronised the foundation of Thasos with the beginning of Gyges' reign according to Herodotus' chronology: the time of Gyges was, as recognised by Herodotus himself, also the time of Archilochus.[124] We have no information about anything in the tradition which would link either Homer or Gyges with the colonization of Thasos, but Archilochus was certainly connected to the island by his poetry and by tradition. Therefore, it looks very likely that the date of the colonisation of Thasos was calculated to fall in the time of Gyges' reign because it was assumed, most probably because of Archilochus' poetry, to have taken place roughly in the poet's lifetime.[125]

In addition to Homer, Archilochus was linked chronologically to poets like Terpander, Callinus, Semonides, Aristoxenus, and Hipponax. Terpander was sometimes thought to have been earlier than Archilochus, sometimes later.[126] Callinus was unanimously believed to have been an older poet than Archilochus, since he had referred to Magnesia as a prosperous city, while Archilochus was obviously already aware of its fall and destruction.[127] Semonides, Aristoxenus and Hipponax were synchronised with Archilochus probably because they all composed iambic poetry.[128]

An interesting question is why the ancient authors associated Homer with Archilochus and Gyges, and why they sometimes dated them all to 500 years after the fall of Troy. Jacoby has suggested that the synchronism of Homer and Archilochus was derived through the link of the

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[124] Hdt. 1.12.

[125] About Archilochus and the colonization of Thasos see Graham 1978, Marcaccini 2001 and Owen 2003.

[126] Glaucus of Rhegium claimed Terpander to have lived earlier than Archilochus ([Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132e, cited below in p. 160.). From the same source comes probably the statement that Archilochus was believed to have lived after Terpander and Clonas ([Plut.] *Mus.* 5.1133a). Phaenias Eresius, however, maintained Terpander to have been a later poet (Phaenias ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, *cit.* in n. 122 above). Terpander's date was fixed by the establishment of the Carneian festival in tradition: Hellanicus calls him the "very first" victor at this festival (4 F 85a). For more about Terpander's chronographical tradition see p. 158.

[127] Archil. fr. 20, Call. fr. 3, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131.

[128] Semonides: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, Eus. *Canon* entry Ol.29.1 (although in both sources stands Simonides, there should not be any doubt that the poet of Amorgus is meant in them, see Mosshammer 1979:214), and Suda s.v. Σιμωνίδης Ἀμοργῖνος. Aristoxenus in the entry is most probably not the Peripatetic musicologist of Tarentum but the poet of Selinus whom Epicharmus (fr. 88 Kaibel) names as the first iambist, see Mosshammer 1979:214. Hipponax: Diphilus fr. 71 K.-A. Proclus gave a chronological sequence: Archilochus of Paros—Simonides of Amorgus—Hipponax of Ephesus (*Chrest.* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 339).

Cimmerians: Homer mentions the nation of that name in the *Odyssey*, and Archilochus refers to Magnesia whose destruction was caused by the Cimmerians.[129] This explanation cannot be ruled out, though it seems rather improbable that the chronographers who generally used to date Homer completely by other means took this quite obscure reference in the *Odyssey* as a basis of their calculations.[130] It seems more probable that Homer was intentionally synchronised with Archilochus, and that his supposed contemporaneity with Gyges was only a by-product of the synchronisation with the Parian poet. It is plausible that this synchronism emerged from the tendency to regard Archilochus as an early classic among the poets, worthy of Homer and Hesiod.[131] On the other hand, it could be that the link between Archilochus and Homer derived from the opinion that Archilochus had alluded to the Lelantine War in his poetry.[132] The synchronism would link Archilochus, Hesiod and Homer: Archilochus could be linked with the Lelantine War on the basis of his fr. 3, Hesiod mentioned Amphidamas in his *Works* (654–659), and Amphidamas was believed to have died in sea battle in the Lelantine War (Plut. fr. 84 Sandbach). Homer was the opponent of Hesiod at the song contest at the funeral games of Amphidamas according to tradition.

In conclusion, all Archilochus' synchronisations with Gyges, the Cimmerians, and the colonisation of Thasos seem to rely on Archilochus' poetry. The synchronism with Homer, however, is probably not derived from Archilochus' verses, but has its origin either in the opinion that two great poets might have belonged in the same time, or in the belief that both poets were in some way linked with the Lelantine War.

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[129] Jacoby on Theopompus F 205 in FGrHist ii D, p. 385. Cf. *Od.* 11.12, Archil. fr. 19, 20, Str. 14.1.40 (647–648).

[130] Homer was synchronized with the Ionian migration (Arist. fr. 76 R., Aristarch. ap. Procl. *Chrest.* p. 101 Allen, and probably also Philoch. ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.117); with Lycurgus (Eph. F 164, 149, Apollod. ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.117); with Hesiod (Hdt. 2.53, Alcid. in *Cert.* 13–14, Plut. *Mor.* 153f–154a, 674f–675a, Eph. 70 F 1, 101a, Philoch. (328 F 213) and Xenoph. (21 B 12, 13 DK) in Gell. *NA* 3.11, Suda s.v. Ἡσίοδος); and with the Trojan War (Dion. Cyclogr. FHG ii.10.10, [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 95 ff. Allen, Charax in Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος, Crates in *Vita Hom.* vi.37–39 Allen).

[131] Cf. Plato *Ion* 531a–532a, Alcid. ap. Arist. *Rhet.* 2.1398b, and later Hippodromus ap. Philostr. *VS* 6.620.

[132] See p. 50.

12. *Traditional elements in Archilochus' biography*

Archilochus' biography is highly traditional and includes many conventional themes. Such themes are the poet's significant origin (from the *oikistes* Telesicles); his initiation into poetry (with the help of the Muses and a cow); his poverty; the oracles (to the poet himself, his father, and his killer, and also to Mnesiepes in connection with the establishment of Archilochus' cult). He was believed to have taken part in a song contest (for the hymn to Demeter on Paros); to have travelled (to Thasos and Olympia, and perhaps also to Sparta), and to have been banished from Sparta for his unbecoming poetry. He had a quarrel with the Parians over the establishment of (Dionysiac) cult, and his garrulous behaviour was cast in proverbs ("τέττιγα τὸν ἄνδρα εἰληφέναι τοῦ πτεροῦ" and "Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς"). Archilochus was also linked with other famous people either by a story (Hipponax, Sappho) or chronology (Homer, Gyges, Simonides), and typically for a poet he died an early death either in battle, or by murder or suicide. All these features have been discussed in previous sections. A traditional topic not yet touched upon is the inventions of Archilochus. The truly impressive list contains inventions of various genres and devices of poetical technique, and must have been formed to a great extent on the basis of his poetry. As it was a common tendency to ascribe all the major inventions to the leading ancient figures of the field, the long list of Archilochus' inventions shows his high reputation as a poet.[133] The information about Archilochus' inventions and innovations comes from late sources, though at least the author of the *De musica* certainly relied on the works of earlier authors such as Glaucus of Rhegium, Aristoxenus of Tarentum and others.[134] The inventions ascribed to Archilochus are the following:

1. The iambus;[135]
2. The iambic dimeter called *Archilochean*;[136]

[133] About πρῶτος εὑρετής motif see Kleingünther 1933 *passim* and Fairweather 1974: 265.

[134] About the sources of *De musica* see p. 151 n. 88.

[135] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.79, Ov. *Ib.* 521–524, cf. Gaetul. in *Anth. Pal.* 7.71. According to Atilius Fortunatianus (*Ars metr.* 6., p. 286 Keil), the iambic was first used by Homer in his *Margites* although, he says, some ascribe the invention of iambic to Archilochus, and some to Hipponax.

[136] Marius Victorinus (in GL vi.81,137) who gives the phrase "*beatus ille qui procul*" as an example of the metre.

3. The (iambic) trimeter;[137]
4. The (trochaic) tetrameter;
5. The cretic;
6. The ithyphallic;[138]
7. The epode;[139]
8. The prosodiac;[140]
9. The elegiac (couplet), invented by Archilochus, Mimnermus or Callinus;[141]
10. The lengthening of the heroic (or dactylic) verse;[142]
11. The combination of unlike measures, such as the iambic verse with the epibatic paean, or lengthened heroic verse with the prosodiac and the cretic;
12. Uneven and harsh metrical breaks;
13. The recitative or rhythmical recitation of poetry to music, and the instrumental music associated with it;
14. The practice whereby some iambics were spoken to musical accompaniment and others sung (as the tragic poets did afterwards, and as Crexus introduced into the dithyramb);
15. The musical accompaniment that is under the melody (i.e. he set the music of the accompanying instrument an octave lower than the voice), whereas all the earlier poets used the same register for music and voice.

13. *Conclusion*

The recognizable shapers of the biographical tradition of Archilochus are the local Parian story-tellers and chroniclers (such as Demeas, Mnesiepes and Sosthenes, for example), Attic comic poets, Delphic priests, the grammarians and chronographers.

The main source of the tradition is Archilochus' own poetry. Since the ancients regarded it as autobiographical, they drew information about his life from the verses and built up a tradition about his life. In his extant poems Archilochus mentions his home (Paros, Thasos), friends, the

[137] The source for [3]–[5] is [Plut.] *Mus.* 28.1140f.
[138] Mar. Vict. in GL vi.85, describing the metre with a phrase "*Bacche plaude Bacche*."
[139] [Plut.] *Mus.* 28.1140f, Mar. Vict. in GL vi.104.7.
[140] [Plut.] *ibid.*
[141] [Plut.] *ibid.*, Orion s.v. ἔλεγος (col. 58.8 Sturz).
[142] The source for [10]–[15] is, again, [Plut.] *Mus.* 28.1140f.

girl Neoboule and her father Lycambes, and the king Gyges—all details attested in the biographical tradition. He also mentions his sister, and describes his life as a soldier. Some stories came probably from the rich local Parian tradition (in which some details may be historically true): for example, the account of Archilochus' initiation, an explanation of why the poet left Paros and went to Thasos, some information about Telesicles and Lycambes, and also the oracles, concocted originally perhaps in Delphi, about Archilochus and his father. Also the accounts of the poet's victory at a contest in composing hymns held in Paros, his attempt to bring a Dionysiac cult to the island, his death in battle with Naxos, and his cult were transmitted probably in the Parian strand of tradition. The elaborate story of Lycambes, the accounts of Archilochus' servile origin and poverty, and the exaggerations about his sexual appetite, vicious tongue and arrogance which led to his suicide or murder, belong rather in iambic and comic context. The grammarians added the criticism of his poetry, style and character, and the list of his inventions and innovations in art; and the chronographers attempted to identify the time when he lived.

The opinions and stories about Archilochus' life began to form early. His parents Telesicles and Enipo are referred by the Classical authors. Also the story of Lycambes and his daughters was known at that time, as well as Archilochus' death in a battle by the hand of Calondas, his encounter with the Muses, his poverty, and his slanderous and quarrelsome character. From the fifth century onward at latest the poet was synchronized with the Lydian king Gyges, and he was believed to have lived later than Terpander. Later on, the colonisation of Thasos was placed in his time, and he was synchronised with Homer. There are five oracles concerning Archilochus and the establishment of his cult in tradition. It is impossible to date most of these oracles accurately, but they contain nothing which would rule out their early, possibly even Archaic origin.

Mnesiepes and Sosthenes mention Demeas, the "men of old" and the nondescript "them" (λέγουσι) as their sources, indicating that at least some material in these Hellenistic inscriptions is of earlier origin. It seems that after the Hellenistic period the authors used to extend and elaborate the already established tradition about Archilochus' life, and only very few new details were added in it. The story of Lycambes and his daughters continued to be popular among the Roman and later authors, possibly because of the rise of satire. Also the discussion about the poet's style, character and date, which had begun already in the beginning of the

Classical period, continued in later antiquity. The one new topic which appears only in the sources of later antiquity, is the discussion of the poetic inventions ascribed to Archilochus; but even this discussion may, at least partly, be based on the works of the Classical authors such as Glaucus, Aristoxenus and others.[143]

[143] Glaucus and Aristoxenus as the sources of [Plut.] *De musica*, see p. 151 n. 88.

CHAPTER FIVE

HIPPONAX

1. *The tradition*

A brilliant poet, Hipponax of Ephesus was, according to tradition, an ugly and malicious man, a “bitter wasp” as ancient authors call him, who took pleasure in slander and abuse. Several of his family members (father, mother, uncle, sister, wife, son, daughter, mistress, father-in-law) are recorded in tradition, but information about them is most scarce. He was expelled from his home town and settled in Clazomenae where he held a long-lasting quarrel with the Chian sculptors Boupalus and Athenis. Hipponax was believed to have invented choliambic metre and begun to compose after an old woman called Iambe had told him off in choliambic verse. In addition to choliambus also the inventions of iambic trimeter, comic tetrameter and the genre of parody are ascribed to Hipponax. According to tradition, he either died of hunger or committed suicide. Ancient chronographers placed him between the first part of the seventh century and the beginning of the fifth century. He was synchronized with Archilochus and Sappho, Terpander, Aristoxenus of Selinus, the Phrygian king Midas, and the Persian king Darius.

In modern times the main issue of discussion has been whether the poetry of Hipponax can be taken seriously as autobiographical material, or treated as complete fiction, as part of a literary adaptation of some ritual of abuse, or as dramatic scripts for some abusive proto-comic performance.[1] The prevalent opinion seems to regard his poetry as mainly a genre poetry, the representative of iambic blame-poetry, rather than a direct description of his own life, although he may have used iambic poetry also to attack his personal enemies.[2] Some other problems such as the poet’s origin, the story of Iambe, and the reason for the quarrel

[1] As is summarised by Knox 1985:164.

[2] West 1974:32 and 37, Rosen 1988a:30, Miralles 1988:136, Brown1997:87, Kurke 2000:69–70, 374.

between the poet and the Chian brothers, have also attracted attention—the views on these issues are discussed in the relevant sections below.

As to the development of Hipponax' biographical tradition, it is generally agreed that it is based on the information drawn from the poet's verses, supplemented with scarce information from some other sources (inscriptions, local chronicles) and, mainly in the Hellenistic period, uncritically embellished with colourful and sometimes comical details. As a result the fictional image of a mean, poor and ugly poet emerged.[3]

2. *Hipponax' origin, home town and family*

On the grounds of the meaning of the name Hipponax (*hippos* + *anax*) and the level of artistic perfection of his poetry, several modern commentators have maintained that Hipponax was of noble origin, although, perhaps, a déclassé.[4] No ancient author has, however, associated the poet with high class origin.[5] There is also no allusion even remotely to the cultured environment of noble class in the subject-matter of Hipponax' poetry. There is no reason why a person who is not of aristocratic origin could not be a highly skilled and talented poet. I doubt that Hipponax' name and the high technical level of his verses alone are enough to support the theory of his possible aristocratic descent.

The poet mentions Ephesus only once in his extant fragments, and even then only in adjective form: †ὦςτ† Ἐφεσίη δέλφαξ (fr. 145).[6] The first external reference to Ephesus as Hipponax' home town comes from Strabo, who lists the famous Ephesians, and from then on, all relevant ancient sources agree about Ephesus as Hipponax' home-town.[7] The

[3] Degani 1984:22, Miralles 1988:121–123, Kerkhecker 1999:4, *et al.*

[4] Schmid-Stählin 1929:399, Rose 1934:92, Masson 1962:12, Farina 1963:13, West 1974:28, Degani 1984:24, but see Bergk PLG^4:ii.473, and RE s.v. Hipponax. Cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 63, which gives Ξάνθιππος and Χάριππος as examples of noble-sounding names. Hipponax mentions his name in frr. 32, 36, 37, 79(?), 117, cf. fr. 1 with Gerber's note and references (1999:353 n. 1). All Hipponax' fragments are referred to according to West's edition (1971c).

[5] Cf. the strand of tradition that Hipponax' father was a potter, p. 123 with n. 11.

[6] "As an Ephesian pig (or sow)." Cf. Strabo's commentary on Hipp. fr. 50, in which he reports Hipponax to have mentioned Smyrna, a place in Ephesus, in his verses (Str. 14.1.4 (633)).

[7] Str. 14.1.25 (642). In addition to Hipponax, he mentions Heracleitus the philosopher, Hermodorus the law-giver, Parrhasius the painter, Apelles [the painter] and Alexander the orator as the notable men of Ephesus. Other references about Ephesus as

strong consensus in this detail suggests that there was a continuous (and possibly old) tradition about Hipponax in Ephesus which was picked up by the Hellenistic grammarians when they collected Hipponax' poetry for the editions and treatises, from which, in turn, other authors could have drawn information once they became interested in his poetry and life.[8]

Another town associated with Hipponax is Clazomenae where he was believed to have moved after the tyrants Athenagoras and Comas had expelled him from Ephesus.[9] Hipponax mentions the Clazomenians in the same line with Boupalus, which suggests that the long-lasting (historical or fictional) quarrel between Hipponax and Boupalus and his brother was located in this city.[10]

Ancient sources provide us with only a meagre and exeedingly confused information about Hipponax' family. His father was believed to be called either Pytheas or Ebalus (the potter), and his mother either Protis or Pentida.[11] Pentida's brother Penthides, "the enemy of Hipponax," is reported to have cursed Hipponax and driven him to commit suicide.[12] Hipponax' sister is called Medusa (or Melusa) by the scholiasts on Ovid.[13] There is only one reference to Hipponax' wife in tradition: the

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Hipponax' home town: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.79.1, Procl. *Chrest.* 7, Suda s.v. Ἱππῶναξ, cf. Callim. *Iamb.* 13.

[8] Kerkhecker (1999:4 n. 11) has pointed out that Callim. *Iambus* 13 suggests that there was a continuous tradition of choliambic poetry in Ephesus up to the time of Callimachus. Callimachus says:

> ἐκ γὰρ......[.οὔτ'] Ἴωσι συμμείξας
> οὔτ' Ἔφεσον ἐλθών, ἥτις ἐστι.αμ.[
> Ἔφεσον, ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλλοντες
> τὰ χωλὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύονται. (*Ia.* 13.11–14 Kerkhecker)

On the other hand, Callimachus may simply mean that Ephesus is "home" of choliambic poetry because of Hipponax.

[9] Suda s.v. Ἱππῶναξ, cf. Sulpicia Max. *Sat.* 1–6. Athenagoras and Comas are obscure figures. It is known only that one Comas was δημεχθής, a confiscator of public property and therefore much hated by the people (*Anecd.* 34.16 Bekker).

[10] Hipp. fr. 1.

[11] Suda s.v. Ἱππῶναξ, schol. [Z] ad Ov. *Ib.* 447, p. 117 La Penna (T 10d Degani). Ebalus is attested only in Latin sources (schol. [C1] *ad loc.*). More often he is, however, claimed to be the father of Penthides, the enemy of Hipponax, see Conr. *ad loc.*: *Penthides poeta, filius Abagi vel Ebali* …, and schol. [Bab] and [CD] *ad loc.* where Penthides is "*filius Ababi*" or "*filius Abacii*" respectively. See also Leonidas, according to whom Hipponax snarled even at his own parents (*Anth. Pal.* 7.408).

[12] T 10ad Degani, cf. 10cef. In 10e the abuser is Penthides the poet, and in 10f Penthides is the son of Ebalus.

[13] Ov. *Ib.* 447 f. with the scholia *ad loc.* (T 10a–f Degani). It is Penthides in three

scholium in the manuscript of Ovid's *Ibis* says that Hipponax married the daughter of Lycambes![14] The father-in-law, who is sometimes identified as Boupalus, sometimes as Lycambes, is reported to have been bullied to death by Hipponax' iambics.[15] Just to make things even more confusing, the scholiasts claim that Hipponax' daughter was initially engaged with Archilochus but then given to Lycambes who was for that reason forced to commit suicide by the rejected poet (Archilochus).[16] Clearly, the better-known tradition of Archilochus has influenced the formation of the one of Hipponax, as the scholiasts have deliberately or out of sheer confusion transferred details from one tradition into another. The two famous iambic poets, both garrulous and abusive in their verses, are often mentioned together in other sources as well, cf. for example, Diphilus' account that they both were the lovers of Sappho.[17]

There is an amusing report that Aristophanes the grammarian had claimed that Hipponax called his own son a young wild boar (μολοβρίτης).[18] This opinion may have arisen from the corrupt reading ὗν (pig) instead of υἱόν (son).[19] Hipponax mentions several other people (Arete, Cicon, potter Aeschylides, Sannus, Metrotimus, painter Mimnes, Babys), but they are not known from external sources.[20]

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manuscripts, other manuscripts give Pentides, Petides, Pentelides, Pit(h)oides, Bat(th)iades, Bactiades. Mycillus conjectured Pytheides probably on the basis of the Suda's entry (followed by La Penna and Degani). The scholia are extremely confused, their only common feature is that they all claim Hipponax to be the brother of Medusa. This consensus has led La Penna to suggest that in some ancient edition Ovid's verse bore perhaps a marginal note of just one word "Hipponax" which the scholiasts interpreted freely (La Penna 1957:114f. with the note on lines 447f.). On the other hand, the scholiasts may perhaps have received the information from a comic play, or it may be based on some of the lost poems of Hipponax.

14 Schol. [P] Ov. *Ib.* 54, p. 10 La Penna (T 11 Degani).

15 Schol. Γb λ φ ψ, and in [codd. Paris 8223, 17897] Hor. *Epod.* 6.14 (T 9b–e Degani), schol. [P] Ov. *Ib.* 54, p. 10 La Penna (T 11 Degani).

16 Schol. B (a*) Ov. *Ib.* 521, p. 156 La Penna (T 12a Degani). In yet another scholium (ad Hephaest. 5.1), Archilochus has even been made to be the son of Hipponax.

17 Diphil. 71 K.-A. See also Philod. *De poem.* Pap. Herc. 1074 col. 105.2–26, Plut. fr. 40 Sandbach, Lucian. *Adv. ind.* 27 and *Pseudol.* 2, Galen *De meth. medendi* 1.5, Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 1.298, Terent. Maur. *De metris* in GL 6.396.2371 ff., Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.1, 1.79, Eus. *Chron.* Ol.23.1, Iulian. *Epist.* 89b, etc.

18 Hipp. (fr. 114b) ap. Eustath. in Hom. *Od.* 17.219: Ἀριστοφάνης γοῦν ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ὀνομασίας ἡλικιῶν, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῶν ἀγρίων ὑῶν τὰ νέα οἱ μὲν κολόβρια οἱ δὲ μολόβρια καλοῦσιν, ἐπάγει ὡς καὶ Ἱππῶναξ τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν μολοβρίτην που λέγει ἐν τῷ· κρέας ἐκ μολοβρίτεω συός.

19 See Farina 1963:13 and Gerber 1999:437.

20 Arete in frr. 12, 14 (cf. 13), 16, 17; Cicon in 4, 4a, 78, 102, 118e; Aeschylides in 117; Sannus in 118a (cf. 118 A); Metrotimus in 122; Mimnes in 28; Babys in 118e.

3. *Hipponax' inventions and the story of Iambe*

Atilius Fortunatianus refers to two different opinions on the origin of iambus among ancient commentators: some believed it to be the invention of Archilochus, others ascribed it to Hipponax.[21] The first quotation of Hipponax' iambic poetry comes from Aristophanes.[22] Hipponax was also believed to have invented both the comic tetrameter and the genre of parody. However he was most renowned for the invention of choliambic metre.[23]

The invention of choliambic metre is associated with the story of the poet's encounter with Iambe: once, walking by the seaside, Hipponax met an old woman called Iambe as she was washing wool. As he bumped into the washing-trough, she told him off, muttering in choliambic metre: "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέψεις" ("begone, man, you are upsetting the trough"). Hipponax picked the metre up, named it after Iambe, and (chol)iambus was invented.[24]

The story of Iambe serves also as an initiation story in Hipponax' tradition. The earliest extant source for the story is Choeroboscus who attempts to explain the origin of *iambus*. First he refers to the legend known already from the *Hymn to Demeter*, about Iambe the maidservant of king Celeus, who compelled grieving Demeter to laugh by

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[21] Atilius himself regarded Homer as a true inventor of the genre (*Ars* 10 in GL vi.268.2–9).

[22] Aristoph. *Ran.* 659–661 (= Anan. fr. 1 W): Ἄπολλον, - ὅς που ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις. The verse is two lines later ascribed to Hipponax. On the basis of a scholiast's note it is usually, however, ascribed to a iambic poet Ananius. The verse in the play is said by Dionysus who is being flogged by Aeacus. The scholiast explains: "Because of his pain and confusion [Dionysus] does not know what he is saying, since the line is not from Hipponax but from Ananius" (schol. *ad loc.*). According to Tzetzes, Aristophanes had borrowed also the notion that Plutus is blind from Hipponax (Hipp. fr. 36 ap. Tz. in Aristoph. *Pl.* 87).

[23] The comic tetrameter: Aphthon. [Mar. Vict.] *De metr.* 14ff. (GL vi.135). Parody: Polemo in Ath. 15.698bc (see Pfeiffer 1968:248f.) and Suda s.v. Ἵπυς. Cf. also Aphthon. [Mar. Vict.] 31 (GL vi.136) according to which Hipponax invented the "*tetrametrum pari lege*." Choliambic metre: Demetr. *De eloc.* 301, Rhint. fr. 10 Kaib., Diom. gramm. *Ars gramm.* 14–15 (GL i.507), Sulpicia *Sat.* 1–6, Terent. Maur. *De metr.* 2398ff., 2901ff. (GL vi.397 and 411), Hephaest. *Ench.* 5.4, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.79.1, Diom. *Ars gramm.* 14f. (GL i.507), Mar. Vict. *De metr.* 4–17 (GL vi.81–136 Keil), Suda s.v. Ἵπυς, Caes. Bass. *De metr.* 1–23. Cf. also Heracl. Pont. fr. 158 Wehrli, Cic. *Or.* 189, Tricha *Lib. de novem metris* 1, p. 370.10s Consbr., and the references to the story of Iambe in n. 24 below. Heraclides regards Apollo as the true inventor of choliamb, Hephaestio and Tricha (11th c. grammarian) report a parallel tradition that Ananius invented the metre (*cit. loc.*).

[24] Choerob. *ad Hephaest.* 20, p. 214 Consbr., Gramm. Ambros. p. 255.14–20 Keil-Nauck, Tricha *Lib. de novem metris* 1 p. 370.11–16 Consbr., Tzetzes *ad Lyc.* in cod. Pal. 356 fol. 163^{v}, schol. in Hephaest. 20.4 pp. 299.17–300.3 Consbr.

jesting and jeering spontaneously using the iambic metre.[25] Then he moves on to tell the story of Hipponax' encounter with Iambe (not the Eleusinian), referred to above, and gives another, "iambic" version of the story, according to which the old woman's admonition is in iambic metre: "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις."[26] Modern commentators have suggested that the words of Iambe, and possibly the entire story, go back to Hipponax' poetry, and ought to be printed among his fragments.[27] Most other accounts of the story resemble the one given by Choeroboscus. An exception is a version found in a fourteenth century codex, in which the Eleusinian Iambe and the washerwoman Iambe are one and the same person.[28] In this account Hipponax is not mentioned, but the story is undoubtedly the same: in Eleusis, Iambe once mockingly said to someone who had accidentally pushed her while she was washing (wool): "ἄνθρωπ', ἄπελθε, τὴν σκάφην ἀνατρέπεις." The passage continues with the words: "ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀκαταθύμιος φαίνῃ, ἔργον δὲ μωρὸν ἐκτελεῖς σκάφην τρέπων," which may belong to the commentator, or may, as has been suggested, be the next two lines of Hipponax' poem.[29] Thus, the story of Hipponax's encounter with Iambe and his initiation into (chol)iambic poetry may originate from the poet himself. If not, it must certainly have been formed at some time before Choeroboscus who refers to different versions of the story told by "some." The story may have been known already to the Classical period authors who associated Hipponax with the invention of (chol)iambic metre, possibly also to Aristophanes who ascribed a choliambic verse to him.

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[25] *HyDem* 198–211. In the hymn the story functions as an aition of the ritual abuse practiced at the festival of Demeter, see Richardson 1974:213–217 and Rosen 1988b: 174 ff. We also have an account of Iambe's death: according to a scholiast, the girl called Iambe, having been insulted, committed suicide by hanging herself, just as the daughters of Lycambes were forced to do by the verses of Archilochus (schol. on Hephaest., p. 281.8 Consbr.; cf. Archil. fr. 171 with commentaries *ad loc.*; and Eust. in Hom. p. 1684.45).

[26] Choeroboscus gives also a further etymology for *iambus*, derived from the verb ἰαμβίζειν ("to assail in iambics"—LSJ). This etymology is attested already by Aristotle: διὸ καὶ ἰαμβεῖον καλεῖται νῦν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰάμβιζον ἀλλήλους (*Po.* 1448b32). Cf. Gramm. Ambros. who derives the meaning of iambus from the verb ἰάπτειν ("to hurt", "to attack"—LSJ) (p. 255.14–20 Keil-Nauck).

[27] Rosen 1988b, Brown 1988, 1997:83 f., Fowler 1990:1–6.

[28] *Codex Vaticanus Palatinus Graecus* 356, folio^{r}. In Consbruch's edition the passage is stated to belong in folio^{v} which includes also Tzetzes' commentary on Lycophron, but see Fowler 1990:6.

[29] Rosen 1988b:177 f., Fowler 1990: 3–4. Fowler assumes that the ἀκαταθύμιος has ousted the original word(s) from the second, unmetrical verse. Nicholas Richardson has

4. *The quarrel with Boupalus*

Hipponax is reported to have been an extraordinarily ugly man: short, small, thin and skinny, and with unpleasant looks.[30] At the same time he is said to have been very strong.[31] His displeasing looks were the starting point for the disagreement between the poet and the Chian brothers Boupalus and Athenis. Hipponax certainly mentions Boupalus frequently and sometimes in offensive context in the fragments; Athenis is mentioned once, perhaps twice.[32] Neither the reason for the quarrel nor the fate of the brothers are given in the fragments. The first external allusion to the story comes from Aristophanes who refers to the beating up of Boupalus in his *Lysistrata* as an episode well known to the audience.[33] Callimachus and Horace allude to the story and mention Boupalus; Ovid refers to Hipponax as "he who attacked Athenis in choliambic metre."[34] The first author, however, who gives the full account of the story is Pliny. Having talked about the early distinguished sculptors of Crete he proceeds to the famous Chian family of sculptors, which included Melas (*ca.* Ol.1), his son Micciades, and grandson Archermus the father of Boupalus and Athenis the adversaries of Hipponax. Pliny says that the brothers made a statue of Hipponax which emphasized his natural ugliness, and set it up so that the crowd could laugh at the poet. In anger, Hipponax assailed the brothers with such a fierce and mordant lampoon that they were driven to hang themselves.[35] Pliny claims, however, that the account of the suicide cannot be true, since the brothers had later

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pointed out at the tutorial that the second line might have lost the last foot and could be scanned, for example, as ᵕ - ᵕ ᵕ ᵕ | ᵕ - ᵕ - | – – [ᵕ –].

30 Metrod. Sceps. 184 F 6, Plin. *NH* 36.4.12, Ael. *VH* 10.6, [Acro] in Hor. *Epod.* 6.14, schol. [Γb] Hor. *Epod.* 6.14, Eustath. ad *Il.* 23.844. The word "thin" (λεπτός) which figures in these passages, may also be understood as "impotent" on the grounds of Hesychius' gloss λεπτός· ἀσθενές. See Miralles 1988:138.

31 "... capable of throwing an empty jug a very great distance,"—Metrod. and Eustath., *loc. cit.* in n. 30 above.

32 Boupalus in frr. 1, 12, 15, 95, 95a, 120, possibly also in fr. 77.4 (Βοụ[παλος, Diehl) and 84.18 (Βού]π̣αλο[ν, Lobel, West). Athenis may be mentioned in fr. 70.11: Ὤθηνι κụ[, see Degani 1984:20, Knox 1985:159, Rosen 1988a:31 n. 10, Brown 1997:84 n. 22, Gerber 1999:406 f. Bergk conjectured κἄθηνις in his Hipp. fr. 13 (= fr. 1 W) gaining thus another possible reference to Athenis (PLG^4:ii.465) but see West 1974:140 f.

33 Aristoph. *Lys.* 360 f.

34 Callim. fr. 191.1–4 Pf., Hor. *Epod.* 6.12 f., Ov. *Ib.* 523 f.

35 Plin. *NH* 36.4.11–12. See also the Suda s.v. Ἱππῶναξ. [Acro] relates the same story, only Boupalus is now a painter who presented his insulting picture in the Panathenaia (schol. in Hor. *Epod.* 6.14 = T 9a Degani, cf. also T 9a,c).

made several statues in the neighbouring islands Delos, Iasos and also on Chios.[36] The works of the Chian sculptors of that family are attested in other sources as well: Archermus' statues were known from Delos, Lesbos, and Athens, and the scholiast on Aristophanes' *Birds* 574 informs us that either Aglaophon or Archennos (as he spells the name) the father of Boupalus and Athenis was the first who had supplied the representation of Nike with wings.[37] Micciades, Archermus and possibly Melas as well are mentioned in the 6th century Delian inscription, which is often believed to have belonged with the statue of the winged Nike discovered beside the Artemision on Delos.[38] Pausanias refers to the images of the Graces, and of Nike in Smyrna, and other statues of the Graces in Pergamon, made by Boupalus.[39] All this is in favour of the view that Boupalus and Athenis were real people who lived in the latter part of the sixth century. They may have been acquainted with Hipponax and may have had a quarrel with him, which made him mention them in his verses. Whether or not Hipponax hinted their suicide as well, is impossible to determine. If he did, he probably lied. If he did not mention it, the detail of the suicide must have been created and attached to the story some time before the first century AD, since Pliny's way of narrating the story in the context of family history of the Chian sculptors suggests that he has not invented it, but took the story from some earlier source. The whole account may have been formed according to the formulaic story-pattern of quarrel in *iambus* (supported by Hipponax' poetry), and may be influenced to some extent by Archilochus' tradition.[40]

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[36] Pliny adds that several of their statues were exhibited in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and in many other buildings in Rome (*NH* 36.4.12–13).

[37] Plin. *NH*, 36.4.13, *Inscriptions de Délos* No. 9 (CEG 425), Aristoph. *Av*. 574 and schol. *ad loc*., schol. on Tz. *Chil*. 503. Degani has conjectured Archermos (Archermus) *pro* Archennos as it stands in most of the manuscripts, see also Holwerda 1991:96 and Homolle 1881:273. Aglaophon of Thasos was believed to be the first painter, the father and teacher of Polygnotus (Paus. 10.47.4, Plat. *Ion* 532e and *Gorg*. 448b, Suda s.v. Πολύγνωτος, Dio Chrys. 55, 558b).

[38] See Homolle 1881 and 1883; *Inscriptions de Délos*, (ed. A. Plassart 1950) No 9, p. 6; Jeffery 1961:294f., CEG:425, Sheedy 1985. Scherrer 1983 gives a thorough overview of the different reconstructions of the text of the inscription.

[39] Paus. 4.30.6, 9.35.6.

[40] See Degani 1984:88 n. 27, Rosen 1988a:33 n. 15, Kurke 2000: 69f. Miralles has proposed that the reason for development of the story might have been the archetypal rivalry between the poets and artisans (1988:158–160).

5. *The death of Hipponax*

There are two strands of tradition about Hipponax' death, neither of which carries much, if any historical veracity. The fr. 39 may be read as an allusion to an intention to commit suicide, and its first line κακοῖσι δῶσω τὴν πολύστονον ψυχήν ("I will surrender my grieving soul to an evil end ...")[41] was, perhaps, the source for Ovid's scholiasts' conclusion that Hipponax hanged himself.[42] The cause of the suicide was, according to them, a malicious slander by a certain Penthides (Pentiades, Pentides) who is sometimes identified as the poet's uncle.[43] Ovid himself, however, offers a different account of this matter. In the *Ibis* 523 f., he curses his adversary: "And like him [i.e. Hipponax] who attacked Athenis with endless song, may you die hated through a lack of food," referring to the tradition of Hipponax' death of hunger, which may have, again, risen on the basis of Hipponax' verses.[44]

There is no information about Hipponax' burial or grave in Ephesus, Clazomenae or elsewhere. Neither is there any reference to the existence of his cult. All we have is four Hellenistic and Roman literary epitaphs which are concerned with the poet's waspish character and style rather than with the location of his tomb or with the circumstances of his death.[45]

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[41] Translation by Gerber 1999.

[42] Hipp. fr. 39:

> κακοῖσι δῶσω τὴν πολύστονον ψυχήν
> ἢν μὴ ἀποπέμψῃς ὡς τάχιστά μοι κριθέων
> μέδιμνον, ὡς ἂν ἀλφίτων ποιήσωμαι
> κυκεῶνα πίνειν φάρμακον πονηρίης.

Schol. [C D] and [Z] Ov. *Ib.* 447, p. 117 La Penna (T 10cd Degani). [C D] gives otherwise unknown Bauciades as its source. See also Gerber 1999:385 n. 2, and the tradition of Archilochus death in p. 106.

[43] Conr. ad Ov. *ad loc.* (T 10e Degani), cf. T 10a.

[44] Ov. *Ib.* 523 f. The extant fragments in which the lack of food is mentioned, or may be mentioned (the context is often unclear) are: 10, 26a, 29a, 128. The fragments about poverty: 32, 34, 36, 38.

[45] Theocr. in *Anth. Pal.* 13.3 (HE 3430 ff.), Leonidas in *Anth. Pal.* 7.408 (HE 2325 ff.), Alcaeus of Messene in *Anth. Pal.* 7.536 (HE 76 ff.), Philip of Thessaloniki in *Anth. Pal.* 17.405 (HE 2861 ff.).

6. *Ancient criticism and editions of Hipponax*

In some ancient authors' opinion, Hipponax was a rowdy man with a difficult character and foul language, who even invented a new lame and unrhythmical metre in order to abuse his enemies more vigorously.[46] At the same time others regarded him as a righteous man and a brilliant poet who attacked only those who had hurt him.[47]

Ancient commentators included Hipponax firmly in the canon of the best three iambic poets, the two others being Archilochus and Semonides of Amorgus.[48] They appreciated the power and elegance of Hipponax' verses, and his innovative approach to the genre of iambus, but criticized his choice of subject-matter and somewhat disorderly verses.[49] One of the main interests among the Hellenistic and later authors seems to have been Hipponax' usage of extraordinary, dialectal and foreign words. At least one Hellenistic treatise of the kind is known by title: *On Hipponax* by Hermippus of Smyrna who seems to have set out to explain the obscure words used by the poet.[50] Also Aristophanes the grammarian and an Alexandrian scholar Lysanias are reported to have touched upon Hipponax' poetry in their works.[51] The interest in Hipponax' vocabulary among Hellenistic authors points to the possibility that there existed Hellenistic edition(s) of his poems, which were the basis of the grammarians' studies, even though the edition of Hipponax' poetry (at least in two

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[46] Demetr. *De eloc.* 132, 301, Leonidas in *Anth. Pal.* 7.408 (HE 2325 ff.), Alc. Mess. in *Anth. Pal.* 7.536 (HE 76 ff.), Cic. *Ad fam.* 7.24, *De nat. deor.* 3.38.91, Lucian. *Pseudol.* 2, Eustath. ad Hom. *Il.* 4.211, *Od.* 11.277, cf. Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 1.298, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.1, Iulian. *Epist.* 89b (300cd).

[47] Theocr. in *Anth. Pal.* 13.3, Plut. fr. 40 Sandbach.

[48] Choerob. *ad Hephaest.* 5, p. 227.21 Consbr., Cyrill. *Lex.* in *An. Par.* 4.196.16 Cramer, Procl. *Chrest.* 7 ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 239, *Tab. Script. codicis* Coisl. 387, cf. Lucian. *Pseudol.* 2. Galen (*De meth. medendi* 1.5) mentions only Archilochus and Hipponax. Tzetzes' iambic canon included Archilochus, Hipponax and Ananius (*ad Lyc.* p. 2.16–19 Scheer, *ad Exeg. il.* p. 150.18–20 Herm.).

[49] Demetr. *De eloc.* 301, 132, Philod. *De poem.* in Pap. Herc. 1074 col. 105, Sulpicia Max. *Sat.* 1–6, Heliodorus in Priscian. *De metr. Terent.* in GL iii.426.10, 428.26, see also the many glosses in Gerber 1999:395 ff.

[50] Hermipp. ap. Ath. 7.327. Herodas used choliambic metre, as did sometimes Callimachus. Lycophron borrowed rare words from Hipponax (see Hipp. fr. 34).

[51] Aristoph. Byz. in Eust. in *Od.* 17.219. Lysanias wrote a book on the iambic poets, see Ath. 7.30.46. A fragmentary papyrus of a learned commentary on Hipponax fr. 118 (POxy 2176, fr. 8.21, 2nd c. BC) contains the names Aristophanes (the grammarian), Hermippus, and Polemo.

books) is explicitly mentioned for the first time in the second century AD by Lucian and Pollux.[52]

7. *The date of Hipponax*

The span of ancient dates for Hipponax cover about two hundred years: from the first part of the seventh century to the beginning of the fifth century. The Eusebian date for the poet is Ol.23.1 (688 BC): *Hipponax notissimus redditur*. This date probably depends on the one hand on the synchronism of Hipponax and Archilochus, and on the other hand, on the date of Archilochus who was believed to have been contemporary with Homer and Gyges, five hundred years after the fall of Troy.[53] However, the entry in the *Chronicle* includes only Hipponax and does not mention Archilochus. This has been explained as a consequence of a mistake made by chronographers or scribes, by which "Archilochus" was either simply left out or replaced with "Hipponax" in the entry which originally reflected the date of the Parian poet.[54]

The synchronism Archilochus-Hipponax can be seen also in the background of Cyril's information that according to "some," Hipponax, Simonides (of Amorgus) and Aristoxenus the musician lived in Ol.29 (664/61).[55] A very similar entry is in Eusebius' *Chronicle* at Ol.29.1 (664/63): *Archilochus et Simonides et Aristoxenus musicus inlustres habentur*, which leads to the conclusion that both entries probably rely on the common tendency to synchronise celebrities (in this case the the early iambic poets), and to attach to them the date of the most famous of them, i.e. the date of Archilochus, which, in turn, was determined by the (latest possible) date for Gyges, Ol.29.1.[56]

According to [Plutarch], "some" erroneously placed Hipponax in the time of Terpander while, [Plutarch] says, even the citharode Pericleitus

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[52] The references to Hipponax' editions: Luc. *Adv. ind.* 27, Pollux *Onom.* 10.19, Priscian *De metr. Terent.* in GL iii.426.16, Anti-Atticist *Lex.* in *Anecd. Gr.* i.85.23, cf. also Choerob. *ad Hephaest.* 1.45 and 1.48 (p. 195.15–16 and 199.17–18 Consbr.), Tzetz. *ad Lyc.* 219 and *Chil.* 1.147, 5.728.

[53] The synchronism Archilochus-Hipponax: Diphilus fr. 71 K.-A., cf. Cyril and Eusebius (Ol.29.1) below. The references on the synchronism Archilochus-Gyges, see p. 112 n. 114.

[54] See Jacoby 1902:146, Mosshammer 1979:213 f.

[55] Cyrill. *contra Iulian.* 1.12. About Aristoxenus in this passage, see p. 114 n. 128.

[56] Rohde 1901:i.154, cf. Mosshammer 1979:216.

was earlier than Hipponax.[57] Since Terpander is usually placed in the first part of the seventh century, the date given by "some" agrees with the Eusebian date.[58]

The *Marmor Parium*'s date for Hipponax, 541/540 BC, is linked to the fall of Croesus.[59] On which basis the author of the *Marmor* derived the synchronism is obscure, but it does match with the only hint which Hipponax himself has given for his date: in fr. 42 he mentions the tomb of Attales as a landmark. Attales was the brother of Alyattes the last but one king of Lydia who reigned between 618 and 561, according to Apollodorus' computing.[60] By the end of Croesus' rule, the tomb of Attales on the way to Smyrna had become a well-known landmark for travellers from Lydia to the coast of Asia Minor. Pliny's confident claim that Hipponax was certainly alive in Ol.60 (540/37), is probably based on the *Marmor*'s date, or on the same chronographical tradition: since Pliny mentions this date in the course of relating the lineage of Boupalus and Athenis, and their quarrel with the poet, he may have gained the information about the lifetime of Hipponax from a local tradition.[61]

Proclus places Hipponax even later, between the latter part of the sixth and the first part of the fifth century. He gives the dates for all three canonic iambic poets in his *Chrestomathia*, saying that Archilochus lived at the time of Gyges, Simonides of Amorgus at the time of Ananius the Macedonian, and Hipponax flourished at the time of Darius.[62] The reason

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[57] [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133d: ἔνιοι δὲ πλανώμενοι νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸν ⟨αὐτὸν⟩ χρόνον Τερπάνδρῳ Ἱππώνακτα γεγονέναι. φαίνεται δ' Ἱππώνακτος καὶ Περίκλειτος ὢν πρεσβύτερος.

[58] About Terpander's date see p. 158. About Pericleitus, see p. 145.

[59] *Marmor Parium* ep. 42: ἔτη ΗΗΓΔ]ΔΔΔΔΙΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι[ν Εὐθ]υδήμου. ἀφ' οὗ Κῦρος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Σάρδεις ἔλαβεν καὶ Κροῖσον ὑπὸ [Πυθία]ς σφαλ[έντα ἐζώγρησεν, ἔτη ΗΗΓΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ], ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι … ἦν δὲ] καὶ Ἱππῶναξ κατὰ τοῦτον ὁ ἰαμβοποιός.

[60] Nicolaus of Damascus (90 F 63): Σαδυάττης δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἔγημεν ἑτέρας δύο γυναῖκας ἀλλήλαις ἀδελφάς, καὶ ἴσχει παῖδας ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἀττάλην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἄδραμυν νόσθους, ἐκ δὲ τῆς αὑτοῦ ἀδελφῆς γνήσιον Ἀλυάττην. Cf. Hdt. 1.14–15, 25, 86.

[61] Plin. *NH* 36.4.11–12. About the connection of Pliny's date and the date of the *Marmor* see Jacoby 1904a:171.

[62] Procl. *Chrest.* 7 ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 239. "Ananios" in the codex has been emended into "Argaios" (archon, ruled between 684–647) by Clinton (cf. Degani 1984:85 n. 5), and into "Amyntos" by Sylburg. However, Ananius in the entry may just as well be the iambic poet Ananius to whom the invention of choliambic metre is sometimes ascribed. His name may have originally been included in the list of the iambic poets in this passage, or may have entered the text from the scholium, and replaced the name of the Macedonian ruler.

Eusebius' dates for Darius are Ol.64.2 (523)—Ol.73.4 (486).

which compelled Proclus to synchronize Hipponax with Darius is not comprehensible.

In conclusion, the early dates of the 7th century for the poet (by Diphilus, Eusebius, Cyril, and Plutarch) rely on the synchronisms between Hipponax and Archilochus or Terpander. Pliny's and the *Marmor*'s date of Ol.60 agrees with Hipponax's reference to the tomb of Attales in fr. 42. The argumentation behind Proclus' date between the second part of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century remains obscure. It is clear that ancient chronographers had no absolute date which could have firmly been linked with Hipponax. On the whole, the date calculated for him held no great significance in the fabric of ancient chronography.

8. *Formulaic themes in Hipponax' tradition*

Hipponax' biographical tradition contains the following formulaic topics: initiation (the story of Iambe), exile (from Ephesus) and travelling (to Clazomenae), quarrels with authorities (the tyrants of Ephesus), poverty, inventions (iambic and choliambic metre, comic tetrameter, parody), and a grim death (starvation or suicide). Hipponax was also, although mostly only by chronographical calculations, linked to other famous poets such as Archilochus, Semonides of Amorgus, Aristoxenus of Selinus, Sappho, and tyrants Croesus and Darius.

9. *Conclusion*

Although most accounts of Hipponax' life come from Hellenistic, Roman and later sources, some details from the two most important stories of the tradition, the one of the quarrel with Boupalus, and the story of the invention of choliamb, were known in the Classical period. The earliest extant external reference to Boupalus comes from Aristophanes who mentions him as a figure well known to the audience, and there was also an ancient local Delian/Chian tradition about the famous family of the sculptors to which Boupalus and his brother belonged (see the Delian inscriptions from the middle of the fifth century, p. 128). The invention of choliambic metre is ascribed to Hipponax by Heraclides Ponticus.

It is remarkable that several potentially good topics represented in Hipponax' extant poetry have not entered his biographical tradition. Neglected are, for example, allusions to stealing (3a, 79?), hints to

pornographic and adulterous relationships (12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 84, 92, 114a, etc.), and the theme of *pharmakos* (5–10, 92, 152, 153),[63] not to mention the poet's potential lameness which could have easily been inferred from the limping metre he used. The only really well established stories in the tradition are the ones of Boupalus and of Iambe.

As Hipponax' poetry belonged in *iambus* context and later in comic context, it may be that, owing to the lack of appropriate occasion, it was otherwise not often performed and not very well and widely known in the Classical period. Since the development of biographical traditions is closely connected with the performance of poetry of a particular poet,—the more people know the poetry the richer is the poet's biographical tradition—, not many legends of Hipponax' life were developed to any great extent, or were widely circulated. It seems, however, that there may have been a continuous tradition of choliambic poetry in Ephesus down to Callimachus' time (see p. 123, n. 8), and it is probable that certain stories and facts about the life of the greatest local representative of the genre were remembered, embellished and transmitted in his home town. The texts preserved in Ephesus may well have been the basis of the Alexandrian edition(s) of Hipponax' poetry, and with text some old legends may have been transmitted (e.g. the parents' names, the poet's exile, etc.). With the wider circulation of Hipponax' poetry also the interest in his life was restored, and the tradition grew and developed further using elements typical of the biographies of poets, such as the accounts of initiation, opposition to authorities, exile, travelling, poverty, inventions and unhappy death. The comic poets and also the grammarians who scrutinized his poetry helped to establish the representation of Hipponax as a brilliant poet but harsh, ugly and slanderous man. The chronographers, in turn, tried to fit the poet into the chronological scale among other famous persons. Hipponax' tradition is also clearly influenced by the much better established tradition about Archilochus.

[63] Compton argues that the poets as satirists of the vices of society were highly honoured but often also exiled or executed, i.e. perceived as scapegoats in archaic Greek society (2006:39–40, 325 and *passim*). There is, however, no account in ancient sources that Hipponax had ever been treated as a scapegoat. See also p. 223 n. 94 below.

CHAPTER SIX

TERPANDER

1. *The tradition*

Now nearly forgotten, Terpander was highly honoured among the ancients. He was one of the greatest Greek musicians of the Archaic period, the first and foremost in the row of celebrated citharodes of Lesbos, and an extensive tradition of his life was developed. He set both his own and Homer's hexametric poetry to music, and composed also in lyric metres. His musical performances took him far beyond his home island: he is reported to have travelled to Sparta, Phocis, Egypt and, perhaps also to Asia Minor. Terpander is recorded as a winner at the musical contests at the Carneian festival and the Pythian games. In Sparta he supposedly organized music in some way, and also restored peace or healed people with the help of his music. Sparta was also the place where he died choking on a fig. Many innovations in music were ascribed to him, such as several citharodic and aulodic nomes, a new mode, improvement of the harp, the inventions of the *barbitos* and the genre of drinking songs. Ancient chronographers placed Terpander roughly in the time of Midas and Archilochus, i.e. in the first part of the seventh century BC.

Terpander's poetry as a source for his biographical tradition

The extant nine fragments of Terpander's poetry (or the fragments ascribed to him) contain almost no hints to his life. All that appears from them is that Terpander had dactylic prooemia and hymns in his repertoire, that some of his compositions were, perhaps, sung to four notes (or to a four-stringed lyre), some to seven notes (or to a seven-stringed cithara), and that some of his songs may have been thematically connected to Sparta.

2. *Terpander's home and origin*

Four cities are mentioned as Terpander's home towns in ancient sources: Antissa and Methymna on Lesbos, Arne (in Boeotia), and Cyme in Asia Minor. The earliest extant references are from the fifth century: Pindar says that Terpander came from Lesbos, and the citharode Timotheus of Miletus specifies that Terpander's home town was Antissa.[1] Antissa remained the most frequently mentioned among the poet's home towns, and its claim is strengthened by the fact that there is no other reason to maintain that Terpander was its citizen except that the bard had actually lived there.[2] Methymna, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, was usually believed to be a birth-place of Arion, and might be transferred into Terpander's tradition from the one of Arion.[3] Beside the information that Terpander came either from Arne, Antissa, or Cyme, the Suda says that the poet was a descendant either of Hesiod or Homer, suggesting that Terpander was a Homerid, in a way. It gives a genealogy:[4]

[1] Pi. fr. 125 Sn.-M.: τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὗρεν / πρῶτος ἐν δείπνοισι Λυδῶν / ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πακτίδος; Timoth. *Pers*. fr. 6e (791.221–231 PMG), see p. 157 n. 117.

[2] Other Antissa references: [Plut.] *Mus*. 30.1141c, Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 1.78.5, Steph. Byz. p. 101.1 s. Meineke, Photius *Lex*. s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν, Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος and μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν. Modern commentators almost unanimously regard Terpander as having come from Antissa, see DGRBM s.v *Terpander*, Schmid-Stählin 1929:404, RE s.v. *Terpandros*, OCD 2nd and 3rd ed. s.v. *Terpander*, Podlecki 1984:90, etc. West leaves it open whether Terpander was a Lesbian or Cymean citharode (1992:334).

[3] Diod. Sic. 8.28 ap. Tz. *Chil*. 1.388, cf. Boethius *Inst. mus*. 1.1: *Terpander atque Arion Methymnaeus Lesbios atque Iones gravissimis morbis cantus eripuere praesidio*. Arion was also presented on coins of Methymna, see Richter 1965:68 and figs. 269–270. More about Arion see below p. 144.

[4] Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος· Ἀρναῖος, ἢ Λέσβιος ἀπὸ Ἀντίσσης, ἢ Κυμαῖος· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπογόνον Ἡσιόδου ἀνέγραψαν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ὁμήρου, Βοίου λέγοντες αὐτὸν τοῦ Φωκέως, τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος, τοῦ Ὁμήρου· λυρικός, ὅς πρῶτος ἑπτὰ χορδῶν ἐποίησε τήν λύραν καὶ νόμους λυρικοὺς πρῶτος ἔγραψεν, εἰ καὶ τινες Φιλάμμωνα θέλουσι γεγραφέναι.

Homer
|
Euryphon
|
(Phoceus)
|
Boeus[5]
|
Terpander

The names Boeus and Phoceus in the genealogy may be simply another way to say that Terpander's father was the Boeotian, and his grandfather the Phocian. The same applies to the *Marmor Parium's* entry that the poet's father was Derdenes or Derdenis, which might be a real name, but might as well be an allusion to Terpander's Aeolian origin: Dardanus was the ancestor of the Trojan kings in the *Iliad*.[6] We know from several sources that Terpander used to sing besides his own hexametric poetry also that of Homer.[7] This might be one of the reasons why the tradition emerged that Terpander, like the Homerids of Chios, was a descendant of Homer: according to tradition, Homer, while in Chios, had married Aresiphone the daughter of Gnotor of Cyme, and had two sons, Eriphon and Theolaus, and a daughter who became a wife of Stasinus of Cyprus.[8] Perhaps the Eriphon in this account is the same as Euryphon in the Suda's genealogy of Terpander.[9] Cyme is, with Smyrna and Chios, the city which had the strongest claim for Homer's citizenship, and also Hesiod is through his father's home town strongly linked with this city.[10]

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[5] Or Boeus of Phocis.

[6] *Marmor* Ep. 34: ἀφ' οὗ Τέρπανδρος ὁ Δερδένεος ὁ Λέσβιος τοὺς νόμους τοὺ[ς κιθ]α[ρωιδ̣[ικ]οὺς |θαιαυλητ … | |ἐκαι| νοτόμ]ησε καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθε μουσικὴν μετέστησεν, ἔτη ΗΗΗΓΔΔΔΙ, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Δρωπίδου (Jacoby's emendations). The nominative form of the father's name in Aeolic dialect may be Δερδενεύς, see Bechtel 1917:117. Cf. also *Il.* 20.215 Δάρδανος, and Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1371 where a flute girl is called ἡ Δαρδανίς.

[7] Heracl. Pont. fr. 157 Wehrli, Alex. Polyhist. 273 F 77, [Plut.] *Mus.* 5.1133c.

[8] Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος 34–37 Allen.

[9] Tzetzes says that Homer was married to Eurydice and had sons Seriphon and Theolaus, and a daughter Arsiphone (as he spells the name) who married Stasinus (*Chil.* 634 ff.). 'Seriphon' may be an erroneous reading of Suda's account: "… οἱ δ' υἱεῖς Ἐρίφων…"

[10] The genealogies, which the two epic poets share, include several Cymeans, see p. 12.

Thus, if Terpander was believed to be a descendant either of Hesiod or Homer, he may have been indirectly regarded also as a citizen of Aeolian Cyme.[11] The same reasoning may lie in the background of the claim that Terpander came from Arne, if Arne here is the town in Boeotia mentioned in the *Iliad*,[12] for it has been suggested that Lesbos was colonized by the Aeolians of Boeotia.[13] Also one of the nomes of Terpander is called *Boeotian* and it is emphasised that this nome (just as the one called *Aeolian*) was named after the people whose music formed the basis of the nome.[14] Hesiod, of course, was a Boeotian whose father had moved to Boeotia from Cyme.[15] Thus, Arne and Cyme as Terpander's home towns may be derived from the Boeotian origin of Aeolians on Lesbos, or from the traditions of Hesiod or Homer to which Terpander's tradition became attached.[16] In other words, the traditions of Arne and Cyme may reflect the opinions about Terpander's ancestors and his status as a poet and musician, rather than the opinions about his home town.

The Boeotian Aeolians were of the same race as the Pierians among whom, it seems, Orpheus was thought to have belonged.[17] According to tradition, after the women had torn Orpheus in pieces, his head and harp were thrown into the sea and borne across to Antissa. The head prophesied for a while on Lesbos and was eventually buried in a cave near Antissa; Orpheus' harp was taken to Terpander.[18] On these grounds, and supported by the possible significance of Terpander's name, some

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[11] DGRBM s.v. *Terpander*, Müller 1858:199.

[12] *Il.* 2.507, 7.9, Paus. 9.40.5, etc. Some sources locate Arne in Thessaly: e.g. Thuc. 1.12, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄρνη. See the entries *Arne* in RE and Brill's New Pauly.

[13] See Huxley 1966:36. The suggestion is based on Str. 9.2.3 (401), 13.1.3 (582) and Thuc. 3.2.3. Strabo says that the Boeotians returned from Thessaly to Boeotia at the time the sons of Orestes were despatching to Asia (9.2.3), and that Lesbos was colonized by Gras, a great-grandson of Orestes (13.1.3). He does not explicitly say that the Boeotians joined the Aeolian colonists. According to Thucydides, however, the Lesbians still regarded the Boeotians as their kindred at the time of the Peloponnesian War (3.2.3). Cf. Sakellariou 1990:180–182.

[14] Pollux *Onom.* 4.65; schol. ad Aristoph. *Ach.* 13 (but cf. Suda s.v. Μόσχος ᾄδων Βοιώτιον), *cit.* in p. 153 n. 97.

[15] Hesiod is never connected with Arne in tradition. Zenodotus, however, emended "Ἄρνην" in *Il.* 2.507 as "Ἄσκρην".

[16] Although we have no information that Terpander had sung the poetry of Hesiod, there are traditional epic works ascribed to Hesiod which Terpander could well have performed at the contests, e.g. *The Shield of Heracles*.

[17] Although Orpheus is generally called a Thracian, his grave and cult belong not to Thrace but to Pieria in Macedonia, a region which formely had been inhabited by the Thracians, cf. OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Orpheus*.

[18] Nicom. *Exc.* 1, Conon 26 F 45, Philostr. *Her.* 28.8–12.

modern commentators have postulated that Terpander belonged to an ancient family of Lesbian musicians.[19] Against this opinion, however, is the fact that there is not one figure in tradition who could be linked with the pre-Terpandrean musical tradition of Lesbos.

3. *Terpander in Sparta*

Sparta is another place where Terpander's tradition is localised. Although the details are rather scattered, Terpander was probably linked with Sparta by a continuous tradition. It included, in brief, a calamity (unrest or illness) in Sparta, and the Pythian oracle that peace or health would be re-established if the Lacedaemonians listened to the singer of Lesbos. Accordingly, the Spartans invited Terpander to sing at their syssitia, and order was restored.[20]

His talent gave rise for a proverb "μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν" ("next to the singer of Lesbos" or "not quite as good as the singer of Lesbos"). The earliest author known to mention it is Cratinus in his comedy *Cheiron*.[21] Cratinus' exact text is lost, but Zenobius, who refers to it, explains that the saying is about those who come off second best, for the Lacedaemonians liked Terpander's music so much that any other musician seemed to be inferior compared to him.[22] Aristotle gives a slightly different version: he says that Terpander was so highly esteemed among the Lacedaemonians that in later times his descendants were first invited to perform at the Spartan festivals, while next came any other musician of Lesbos who happened to be present and finally, "after the singer of Lesbos" (i.e. the Lesbians generally), the rest of the performers.[23] Since Aristotle

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[19] Müller 1858:199 f., followed by Philip Smith in DGRBM s.v. *Terpander*; also Gostoli 1990:xi–xii. Müller suggests that the whole story of Orpheus' head is an allegory about the transference of the art of music from Pieria to Lesbos.

[20] Demetr. Phal. ap. schol. EQ ad *Od.* 3.267; cf. Fontenrose 1978:285 (Q 53), Parke-Wormell 1956:92 (PW 224). Later sources for the story: Heracl Lemb. *Exc. polit.* fr. 11 Dilts; Diod. Sic. 8.28 ap. Tz. *Chil.* 1.385–392; Diog. Bab. in SVF iii p. 232 fr. 84 von Arnim; Philodem. *De mus.* 1, fr. 30.31–35, p. 18 Kemke; [Plut.] *Mus.* 42.1146bc; Aristid. *Or.* 46.189; Zenob. 5.9; Christod. in *Anth. Pal.* 2.111; Ael. *VH* 12.50; Phot. Lex. and the Suda s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδον. See also the references in p. 139 n. 21 and p. 139 n. 23.

[21] Crat. fr. 263 K.-A. ap. Zenob. 5.9.

[22] See also Phot. *Lex.* s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν.

[23] Arist. fr. 545 R. Later references to the saying are: Plut. *De sera num. vind.* 13.558a; Ael. Dion. λ 7, p. 127 Erbse (who links the proverb either with Terpander, Euaenetides, or with Aristocleides); Zenob. 5.9; Hesych. s.v. Λέσβιος ᾠδός (Terpander, Euaenetides

mentions the proverb in his *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, he probably talked about it in connection with the closely linked story of how the Lacedaemonians invited Terpander to Sparta. In fact, the proverb may be alluded to already by Sappho in one of her nuptial songs:

> πέρροχος ὡς ὄτ᾽ ἄοιδος ὁ Λέσβιος ἀλλοδάποισιν.[24]
>
> *Pre-eminent, as the bard of Lesbos among strangers.*

Since Terpander was regarded as the first and the most famous person in the long line of the great citharodes of Lesbos, the verse of Sappho's which summarizes the superior reputation of the poets of the island may well be an allusion to the proverb and Terpander. In that case, of course, the proverb and its connection to Terpander must have been known already in the seventh century.

Some accounts of the Pythian oracle given to the Spartans, including the earliest one by Demetrius of Phaleron, suggest that it did not specify which singer of Lesbos the Spartans should send for.[25] It does not necessarily mean that Terpander's name was added to the story later, since as we have seen, he was already in the Classical period at latest linked to the above mentioned proverb which was certainly connected to the story.[26] In other accounts the Pythia explicitly refers to Terpander in her oracle.[27] Sickness, madness, internal strife, and war with neighbours, all mentioned as reasons why the Spartans called for Terpander in the first place, are nothing but different manifestations of an overwhelming calamity typical in a certain type of Greek stories. The kind of story usually begins with human injury which brings about pollution and divine vengeance. A solution is sought from a (Delphic) oracle, and eventually the normal situation is restored,—the structure very similar to the story of Terpander.[28] In Spartan context the person who brings the solution is usually Lycurgus but, in addition to Terpander, also Thaletas of

of Antissa or Phrynis) and s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν (Terpander); Phot. *Lex.* and the Suda s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν.

[24] Sappho fr. 106.9 Voigt.

[25] Cf. Dem. Phal. ap. schol. EQ ad *Od.* 3.267, Heracl. Lemb. *Exc. polit.* fr. 11 Dilts, Phot. *Lex.* and the Suda s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν (the first of the two versions given in this account).

[26] Cf. Arist. 545 R.

[27] Cf. Diod. Sic. 8.28, Philod. *De mus.* 1, fr. 30.31–35 (p. 18 Kemke), and 4, pap. Hercul. 1497, col. xix 4–19 (pp. 85 f. Kemke), Zenob. 5.9, Suda *loc. cit.* (the second version).

[28] See Kõiv 2003:23 ff., 170 f. Cf. the story of Stesichorus as a peacemaker (p. 75). Boethius mentions Terpander, Arion, and the Ionians as the healers from the most grievous diseases by means of song (*Inst. mus.* 1.1).

Gortyn is mentioned, and in some accounts Tyrtaeus as well.[29] According to Christodorus, Terpander's peacemaking was connected with Spartan foreign politics: he calmed the Amyclaeans, the neighbours and enemies of the Spartans by his song.[30] Photius and the Suda add an interesting detail: the poet was exiled from Antissa because of a murder at the time the Spartans received the oracle and invited him to their city.[31]

According to Hellanicus, Terpander was registered as the first winner of the Carneian festival.[32] This record, which firmly fixed the bard in the early chronology and connected him with a victory in an ancient and important Spartan festival, certainly helped to spread his fame, poetry and music, and to develop and transmit his biographical tradition.[33]

[Plutarch] mentions that in addition to settling the civil strife Terpander was the first to organize music at Sparta in some way.[34] What exactly this obscure account means is not clear. It has been suggested that he either established some musical institutions, founded the Spartan citharodic school, or simply introduced new themes in Spartan music.[35] Brelich has proposed that this *katastasis* is the establishment of the Carneian festival by Terpander.[36] In any case, the poet was held in such great honour

[29] Aelian (*VH* 12.50) says that among the poets the Spartans invited to their city on the occasion of sickness, madness or any other such civic disaster were Tyrtaeus, Nymphaeus of Cydonia and Alcman. In the majority of accounts Tyrtaeus is, however, invited to Sparta to sing exhortative songs to the Lacedaemonians and urge them to fight during the Second Messenian War. Plutarch maintains that Terpander, Thales (= Thaletas) and Pherecydes pursued the same ideals as Lycurgus (*Agis* 10.5–6).

[30] Christod. in *Anth. Pal.* 2.111.

[31] Photius *Lex.* and the Suda, both under the headline μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν.

[32] Hellan. 4 F 85a. Cf. Trypho in. *Anth. Pal.* 9.488, and p. 147 below.

[33] Cf. Dihle 1994:42.

[34] [Plut.] *Mus.* 9.1134bc: ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, Τερπάνδρου καταστήσαντος, γεγένηται, cf. also Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.78.5.

[35] West 1992:330, Gostoli 1990:xiv, 84, and 1988, Smyth 1963:165–166, Müller 1858: 200f., DGRBM s.v. *Terpander*. Weil & Reinach have suggested that intrinsic to the Terpandrean *katastasis* were citharodic, aulodic and auletic solo performances in almost exclusively epic or elegiac metres, whereas at the second *katastasis* choral music was prevailing, and various rhythms were used (1900:36 n. 89).

[36] Brelich 1969:186–191, but see p. 143 n. 41.

The Terpandrean *katastasis* may be perhaps connected with the invention of his *Orthian* nome. The occasion for which Terpander may have composed the prooemium in this nome (cf. for example his fr. 2) may have been the festival of Artemis Orthia, one of the most important initiation cults in archaic Sparta, which was believed to have been significantly modified by Lycurgus. The story of the establishment of the cult is given by Pausanias and it has a traditional structure similar to the story of calling for Terpander, containing a crisis caused by a crime in the sanctuary (the Spartans from all four *komai* killing each other at the altar), divine vengeance (disease), oracle ("disease would end if

in Lacedaemon that even three hundred years later, when the Thebans invaded Laconia and told their helot prisoners to sing the songs of Terpander, the helots refused regarding his songs as being too noble to be performed by them.[37]

Terpander was believed also to have died in Sparta (see below, p. 147).

Other musicians in Sparta

Some other musicians active in Sparta are linked with Terpander. First, the Cretan singer Thaletas of Gortyn who was invited to Sparta by Lycurgus himself, and was said to have composed tranquil songs there, which urged people to obedience and harmony, thus helping Lycurgus to carry out reforms.[38] In another version of the story, told by Pratinas, Thaletas arrived at Sparta in accordance with an oracle, and by means of his music he healed the Spartans and saved the city from the plague.[39] He was said to have invented the cretic rhythm (named after his homeland) and to have been the first to compose the *hyporchemata* and some kind

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the altar is stained with human blood"), and restoring order (the establishment of human sacrifice which was later changed by Lycurgus into a scourging of the youths), see Paus. 3.16.9–10 and also Kõiv 2003:170–174. Terpander may have composed, or been believed to have composed music for that festival, which may have given another reason to link him with Lycurgus in tradition. According to the LSJ, however, the name of the nome is spelt ὄρθιος whereas the epitaph of Artemis is spelt Ὀρθεία (also Ὀρθία), which may point to a different etymology of the words.

[37] Plut. *Lyc.* 28.10.

[38] Philod. *De mus.* 4, [Plut.] *Mus.* 42.1146bc, 9.1134bc, Ael. *VH* 12.50, Plut. *Lyc.* 4 who calls him Thales. Eusebius has four entries for Thales: Ol.8.2 (747/6)—*Thales Milesius physicus philosophus agnoscitur* (no respective entry in the Armenian version), Ol.35.1 (640/39)—*Thales Milesius, Examyis filius, primus physicus philosophus agnoscitur, quem aiunt vixisse usque ad lviii olympiadem* (the same in the Armenian version), Ol. 48.3 (546)—*Solis facta defectio, cum futuram eam Thales antedixisset* (Ol.49.1 in the Armenian version), and Ol.58.1 (548)—*Thales moritur* (the same in Armenian version). The dates of the two latter entries must belong to Thales the philosopher since they fall into the period of the Seven Sages (cf. Apollodorus' dates for Thales 623/3 to 548/5 in 244 F 28). The dates of the first two entries, however, probably belong to Thaletas (whose name was often spelled as Thales) and who was sometimes confused with the philosopher. See also Arist. *Pol.* 1274a28, Paus. 1.14.4, Diog. L. 1.38. Therefore, Eusebius probably had two dates for Thaletas, derived by different methods. First, Ol.8.2 comes probably from synchronism with Lycurgus (one generation younger than the law-giver). The second, Ol.35.1 is very close to Eusebius' date for Terpander (Ol.34.3), and as is argued below, may come from the poets' synchronism with the Second Messenian War (see p. 162). Cf. also Eus. *Chron.* Abr. 1266 (750 BC) in which Terpander, Taletas, and Pherecydes are linked with Lycurgus; Diog. L. 1.38 in which the "third" Thales is synchronized with Homer and Hesiod; Suda s.v. Θαλήτας Κρής (lived before Homer), and s.v. Θαλήτας Κνώσσιος.

[39] Pratin. 713 iii PMG. Cf. Paus. 1.14.4, Ael. *VH* 12.50.

of "native" (ἐπιχώριος) songs.[40] Thaletas, with Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Locri, Polymnestus of Colophon and Sacadas of Argos, was also associated with the second organisation or *katastasis* of the Spartan music, and with the establishment of the Gymnopaediae, another main initiation festival beside the Orthia at Sparta.[41] The only (almost) local musician among them is Xenodamus whose home-island Cythera off the Cape Malea was seized by Sparta from Argos around 550 BC, and the inhabitants of the island became *perioikoi*.[42] It appears that no school of local musicians developed in Sparta, and all the famous bards, citharodes and aulodes connected with Sparta were visitors or immigrants. Martin West is probably right in suggesting that Sparta's function in its development of music in archaic times was mainly organisational encouragement.[43] They organized music contests, like the Carneian festival and the Gymnopaediae, which attracted musicians from all over Greece, but they lacked their own good native singers, citharodes, and aulodes. Therefore, we cannot conclude that Terpander's "πρώτη κατάστασις τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικήν" could mean that he established a genuine citharodic school in Sparta, as sometimes has been proposed.[44]

As is suggested above, Sappho may have alluded to the proverb referring to Terpander's fame in one of her poems.[45] Since Terpander's fame was largely based on his activity in Sparta in tradition, it may be that Sappho knew about his visit(s) there as well. The tradition was, perhaps, supported by Terpander's own verses: among his extant fragments is, for example, one about the brave men, superb music and good laws of Sparta.[46]

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[40] Eph. ap Str. 10.4.16 (481), Sosib. 595 F 23, [Plut.] *Mus.* 9.1134bc, but cf. 10.1134d.

[41] [Plut.] *Mus.* 9.1134bc, cf. Str. 10.4.16 (481). Polymnestus, son of Meles (*sic*!) composed the *Polymnestian* nomes and verses on Thales' (Thaletas') music for the Spartans (Paus. 1.14.4, [Plut.] *Mus.* 5.1133ab). According to Athenaeus (15.678b, his source was probably Sosibius), the songs by Thaletas and Alcman were sung at the Thyreatic festival which was founded around 546 BC and was held at the same time as the Gymnopaediae. About the Gymnopaediae see Kõiv 2003:128 f. Since the second *katastasis* by Thaletas was linked with the establishment of this festival, it is reasonable to assume that Terpander's *katastasis* may have involved the arrangement of music for the cult of Artemis Orthia rather than the establishment of the Carneian festival which was a general Doric festival in honour of Apollo rather than initiation cult (cf. OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Carneia*).

[42] OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Cythera*.

[43] West 1992:334.

[44] See Schmid-Stählin 1929:406, Smyth 1963:165, Gostoli 1990:xiv, 84.

[45] Sappho fr. 106.9 Voigt, see p. 140 n. 23.

[46] Terp. fr. 7 Campbell, cf. also fr. 3 Campbell. See p. 150f. below.

4. The citharodes of Lesbos

Terpander was clearly believed to have been the first in the row of famous citharodes of Lesbos.[47] Among his successors we first hear about Cepion or Capion, a disciple or younger lover of Terpander after whom the latter had named one of his nomes.[48] Cepion is also associated with the establishment of the "modern" form of the so-called Asian cithara.[49] He may be a historical figure, a musician particularly celebrated for one of his nomes to the cithara, who was gradually overshadowed by Terpander's fame until he blended into his tradition as a pupil or lover of the more famous musician.[50]

Arion of Methymna, who shares his home town with Terpander in tradition, is best known for his miraculous escape from the hands of wicked sailors.[51] Like Terpander and the Ionians (the Homerids?), he was believed to be capable of healing people from the most severe diseases by his song.[52] Arion is said to have spent a long period of his life in the court of Periander the tyrant of Corinth (625–585) where he supposedly improved the citharodic nomes and also invented the dithyramb: the Suda even reports that his father was called Cyclus.[53] According to "some," Arion was a pupil of Alcman, composed preludes to epic poems, and was the first to introduce satyrs speaking in verse.[54] Arion's date was derived from his synchronism with Periander and his *akme* was placed in Ol.40.2 (619/8) or Ol.42.3 (610/9) by Eusebius, and in Ol.38 (628/5) by the Suda.[55] Since Hellanicus mentioned him in his *Carneian Victors*,

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[47] See [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133b–d.

[48] Cepion as a disciple of Terpander: [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133c; as a lover: Pollux *Onom.* 4.65. The *Cepion* nome: Heracl. Pont. ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132d, Pollux *loc. cit.*, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 1.2.4.

[49] [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133c. See West 1992:53, 330 with n. 8, in which he suggests that the source of this information may be Hellanicus' *Carneian Victors* among whom Cepion might have belonged. About the Asian cithara see *Lex. Seguer.* ap. *Anecd. Graeca* 1.451.31 ff., in which it is said that the cithara was named this way either after Prometheus' mother Asias, after the Lesbians who lived near to Asia, after Tyrrenus of Lydia, or after Terpander (because he was from Lesbos near to Asia).

[50] Cf. the similar fate of Stasinus and Creophylus in the tradition of Homer.

[51] Full account of the story is in Hdt. 1.23 f., cf. Eus. Ol.40.2 and Ol.42.3 (in the Armenian version), Paus. 3.15.7, 9.30.2, Lucian. *Dial. Mar.* 8.

[52] Boethius *Inst. mus.* 1.1.

[53] Phot. *Bibl.* 320a33–b11, Pi. *O.* 13.18 f., Hell. 4 F 86 and Dicaearch. ap. schol. Aristoph. *Av.* 1403, Suda s.v. Ἀρίων, Aristocl. Gramm. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 320 Bek.

[54] Suda s.v. Ἀρίων.

[55] Hdt. 1.23 f., Suda s.v. Ἀρίων. About Arion's date, see Mosshammer 1977 and 1979:229 f.

Arion was probably recorded in the original Spartan list of the victors of the festival (around Ol.40).[56]

Nothing much but a name and home town is known about Euaenetides of Antissa, who is mentioned with Terpander, Aristocleides, and Phrynis in connection with the proverb μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν.[57] He too was probably a member of the Terpandrean citharodic school, and was possibly mentioned in Hellanicus' work as another Lesbian winner at the Carneia. We do not know his date, but if the sequence of how the names of the citharodes are mentioned in our sources has any significance at all then he might have lived earlier than Aristocleides and Phrynis and later than Cepion who was placed closest to Terpander.[58]

According to [Plutarch], the last of the unbroken succession of victorious citharodes of Lesbos was Pericleitus who must have won a victory at the Carneia some time in the first part of the sixth century, since he was thought to have lived earlier than Hipponax.[59] Since [Plutarch's] source here is probably Hellanicus' *Carneian victors*, the passage must mean that Pericleitus was the last of the succession of the Lesbian citharodes who had won at the Carneia continuously since the time of Terpander, but not the last of all in the citharodic school of Lesbos.[60] There were other celebrated musicians on the island even after Pericleitus, such as, for example, Aristocleides or Aristocleitus,—another person associated with the above mentioned proverb. Aristocleides is reported to have been a descendant of Terpander and to have lived at the time of the Persian War. He was in favour with Hieron the king of Syracuse who allegedly gave him his cook Phrynis as a present. Phrynis apparently changed profession and became an aulode, and Aristocleides taught him how to play cithara as well.[61] Phrynis was another candidate for the Lesbian singer in

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56 Hell. 4 F 86.

57 Ael. Dion. λ 7, p. 127 Erbse, Hesych. s.v. Λέσβιος ᾠδός.

58 Aelius Dionysius mentions the bards in sequence Terpander-Euaenetides-Aristocleides; Hesychius gives the sequence Euanetides-Phrynis; and Suda s.v. Φρῦνις and schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 971a: Aristocleitus-Phrynis.

59 [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133cd. The *Marmor Parium* and Pliny place Hipponax in Ol.60 (540/537), the latest ancient date for the poet is his synchronism with Darius (523–486), see p. 131.

60 Cf. West 1992:330 n. 8.

61 Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 971 (Suda s.v. Φρῦνις): ὁ Φρῦνις κιθαρῳδός Μιτυληναῖος; οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ πρῶτος κιθαρίσαι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ νικῆσαι Παναθήναια ἐπὶ Καλλι⟨μάχ⟩ου ἄρχοντος (446/5) ἦν δὲ (ὁ Φρῦνις) Ἀριστοκλείδου μαθητής, ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοκλείδης κιθαρῳδὸς ἦν ἄριστος. τὸ γένος ἦν ἀπὸ Τερπάνδρου, ἤκμασε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατὰ τὰ Μηδικά. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὸν Φρῦνιν αὐλῳδοῦντα κιθαρίζειν ἐδίδαξεν.

the Spartan proverb according to Hesychius, who also criticised him for "killing and vulgarising" music.[62] Other authors say that he changed the style of citharodic music which had remained quite simple from the time of Terpander, probably by creating a new kind of nome which combined hexameter and free rhythm.[63] Phrynis is also reported to have used more than seven strings on the harp, to have been "the first to play the cithara among the Athenians" and to have won the first prize at the Panathenaic contest, probably in 446 BC.[64]

Thus, we have an almost continuous sequence of citharodes of Lesbos:

1. Terpander of Antissa (first part of the seventh century);
2. Cepion (Terpander's younger contemporary);
3. Arion of Methymna (synchronized with Periander, and linked chiefly with the Corinthian rather than the Lesbian tradition);
4. Euaenetides of Antissa (possibly later than Cepion and earlier than Aristocleides);
5. Pericleitus of Lesbos (the first part of the sixth century);
6. Aristocleides (the first part of the fifth century);
7. Phrynis (first prize at Panathenaea in 446).

The most celebrated poets of Lesbos ever, Sappho and Alcaeus, are usually regarded as lyric poets rather than musicians. However, they are known to have sung to the harp, and perhaps the performance of the citharodes and Sappho or Alcaeus was not so different at all.[65]

See also Ael. Dion. λ 7, p. 127 Erbse, Ister 334 F 56, and West 1992:347, Wilamowitz 1903:65 with n. 1.

[62] Hesych. s.v. Λέσβιος ᾠδός.

[63] [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133bc, Phot. *Bibl.* 320a33–b11, Suda s.v. Φρῦνις, Aristoph. *Nub.* 971, cf. West 1998:356, 360f.

[64] Phot. *Bibl.* 320a33–b11, schol. Arist. *Nub.* 971, which gives 456 to the year of Phrynis' victory, but cf. Jacoby (1904:189) and West (1992:360 n. 15): 456 was not a year when the quadrennial Panathenaea was celebrated, and the scholiast must have replaced Callimachus (archon in 446/5) with Callias (456).

[65] The same applies to Archilochus: cf. for example, the list of his musical innovations in p. 116. Sappho and Alcaeus mention the *barmos* (Sappho fr. 176, Alc. fr. 70.4); on the early fifth century BC vase-painting the poets are depicted holding the *barbitoi*. There is also a statue of Alcaeus(?) holding the lyre; a hydria from the end of the sixth century with Sappho and the *barbitos*; and the coins of Mytilene and Eresus with Sappho playing the lyre (Richter 1965:69–72, pl. 244–245, 252–256, 259–261).

5. *The death of Terpander*

A poem ascribed to Trypho the Hellenistic or later epigrammatist, tells the story of the death of one Terpes who, while singing to the phorminx at the Sunshades, was choked by a fig:

> Τέρπης εὐφόρμιγγα κρέκων Σκιάδεσσιν ἀοιδὰν
> κάτθανε νοστήσας (or κάτθανεν ἐξαπίνης—Plan.) ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοις,
> οὐκ ἄορι πληγείς, οὐδ' αὖ βέλει, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ σύκῳ
> χείλεα. φεῦ, προφάσεων οὐκ ἀπορεῖ θάνατος.[66]
>
> *Terpes, having returned to Sparta, died,* (or: *Terpes died suddenly in Sparta*) *while striking his sweet-sounding harp and singing at the Sunshades. He was not struck by a sword nor by an arrow; he was smitten by one single fig between his lips. Alas, death is not in want of pretexts.*

Since the Suda tells a very similar story about Terpander, according to which the poet, while he was starting to sing was choked by a fig which someone accidentally threw at him, the Terpes in Trypho's poem and Terpander are in all likelihood the same figure.[67]

The poet was probably believed to have returned to Sparta after many years, and to have died while singing once again at the Carneian festival,[68]—the "sun-shades" in the first line of Trypho's poem most probably refer to the σκιαί, shades, which were used at the Carneia as a kind of pavilions in which the artists performed.[69] The Suda has the story under a rather obscure headline "γλυκύ μέλι καὶ πνιξάτω" ("honey is sweet and let him choke"),—possibly referring to another proverbial expression associated with Terpander.

It is noteworthy that although Terpander was reported to have died at the Carneia, there is not even a hint of his grave in Sparta (or anywhere else). He was not, however, the only victim of a fruit among the

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[66] Trypho in *Anth. Pal.* 9.488 (*Anth. Plan.* 1a.36.14).

[67] See FGE:99–101, Livrea 1993:3–6, Gostoli 1990:82 f., Edmonds 1928:29 n. 2, Campbell 1988:303.

[68] The different editors prefer different readings of the second line of Trypho's poem: firstly, κάτθανε νοστήσας—"having returned to Sparta" (emended by Preisendanz and followed by Page in FGE:100, Livrea 1993:3, Campbell 1988:302, *et al.*); secondly, the Planudean reading κάτθανεν ἐξαπίνης—"died suddenly" (Gostoli 1990: T 16a and comm. *ad loc.* in p. 82 f.); and κάτθαν' ἀνοστήσας—"he died never to return" (Edmonds 1928:28). About the manuscript readings and modern emendations, see FGE:100 f., Livrea 1993:3 n. 2, and Gostoli 1990: T 16 a.

[69] Burkert 1985:234–236, Gostoli 1990:17.

ancient poets: according to tradition, Sophocles was choked to death by a grape, and Anacreon by a grapestone.[70] Since many other poets and famous ancient figures were believed to have died under unusual circumstances, we may say that the story of Terpander's death is, in fact, quite typical.

6. *Terpander's poetry and music*

Poetry

We have five extant fragments of poetry which are ascribed to Terpander by ancient authors.[71]

(a) First, a dactylic verse (probably a part of an hexametric line) in an anonymous commentary on Aristophanes:

> κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων τοιόνδε[τι]· (fr. 1 Campbell)[72]
>
> *The swan sings a song such as this to the accompaniment of its wings.*

The commentator says that the fragment was ascribed to Terpander by Aristarchus, to Ion (of Chios) by Euphronius, and to Alcman by the author of the *Paraploke*.[73] Having said that the commentator goes on to contradict all these views and inform us that the fragment comes, in fact, from one of the hymns of Homer.[74] The uncertainty about the authorship, and the occurrence of the phrase in other early poetry including the highly formulaic Homeric hymn, suggests that the phrase κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων is a traditional formula which was used by many poets in many poems.

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[70] Anacreon: Plin. 7.5, Val. Max. 9.12.8; Sophocles: Ister and Neanthes in the *Vita Anon.*, see also p. 217.

[71] The fragments of Terpander's poetry are in Bergk PLG^4:iii.7–12; Smyth 1963:1–2, Edmonds 1928:30–33; Campbell 1988:315–319; Gostoli 1990:49–56; 697, 698 in PMG (Page), and S6 in SLG (Page).

[72] POxy 2737 fr. 1 i 19–27 (Aristoph. fr. 590 K.-A.), = fr. 1 Gostoli, S6 SLG.

[73] The *Paraploke* is a work unknown from other sources.

[74] *HyAp* 21.1: Φοῖβε, σὲ μὲν καὶ κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων λίγ' ἀείδει. Modern commentators (Gostoli, Page, Campbell) ascribe the fragment cautiously but unanimously to Terpander.

(b) The line

> ἀμφί μοι αὖτε ἄναχθ' ἑκατηβόλον ᾀδέτω ⟨ἁ⟩ φρήν (fr. 2 Campbell)[75]
>
> *Of the far-shooting lord let my heart sing again*

is believed to be Terpander's by the Suda who explains the word ἀμφιανακτίζειν as "to sing Terpander's nome called the *Orthian*, the prelude of which begins as ἀμφί μοι αὖτε κτλ..."[76]

(c) According to Strabo, "some" believed the following lines to be Terpander's:

> σοὶ δ' ἡμεῖς τετράγηρυν ἀποστέρξαντες ἀοιδὰν
> ἑπτατόνῳ φόρμιγγι νέους κελαδήσομεν ὕμνους. (fr. 6 Campbell)[77]
>
> *For you we shall sing new hymns on a harp of seven (strings), and will love the four-voiced song no more.*

Strabo cites the verse as a proof for a wide-spread opinion that Terpander was the first to use the seven-stringed cithara instead of the old-fashioned four-stringed lyre.[78] On the other hand, West might be right in suggesting that the lines may be transitional verses from the piece (a prooemium) played on four notes to one of seven notes.[79]

(d) Plutarch ascribes to Terpander the hexametric verses about Sparta:

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[75] Fr. 2 in Bergk, Smyth, Edmonds, and Gostoli, and 697 in PMG. West believes, on the grounds of the metre and by the function attributed to φρήν, that the verse is a forgery of the fifth century (1971:307 n. 3).

[76] Suda s.v. ἀμφιανακτίζειν. Cf. Suda s.v. τὸ προοιμιάζειν, in which the verse is most probably mistakenly ascribed to Periander (*pro* Terpander): see Bergk in PLG^4:iii.9, and Negri 1992, who further suggests that Pindar's fr. 325 might be a part of the fragment of Terpander. About the different readings and emendations of the line, see Gostoli 1990:50, PMG p. 362, and Bergk in PLG^4:iii.9. The main concern is the reading of ἀειδέτω, which in manuscripts is lettered also ᾀδέτω and ἀοιδέτω, none of which gives a pure hexameter. Several attempts have been made to emend the line into regular hexameter, among which the most followed seems to be the one by Hermann: ... ᾀδέτω ⟨ἁ⟩ φρήν, see *loc. cit.*, but cf. Robbins 1992, and Gerber 1997:233.

[77] The fragment is printed as Terpander's by Bergk (fr. 5), Edmonds (fr. 5), and Gostoli (fr. 6), but discarded as not genuine by Wilamowitz 1900:7 f., Smyth (fr. [6]) and Page in PMG, p. 363. West suggests that the verses might genuinely be the work of some early citharode who contributed to the corpus of prooemia later attributed to Terpander (1981:116 n. 24).

[78] Str. 13.2.4 (618). The reason why Wilamowitz (1900:7 f.) and Smyth (1963:169) regard the fragment as a forgery is that they do not believe the story that Terpander invented the seven-stringed cithara.

[79] West 1971a:307.

ἔνθ' αἰχμά τε νέων θάλλει καὶ Μοῦσα λίγεια
καὶ Δίκα εὐρυάγυια, καλῶν ἐπιτάρροθος ἔργων. (fr. 7 Campbell)[80]

There the spear of the young men, the clear-voiced Muse and Justice, the helper of noble deeds who walks the broad streets, bloom.

Smyth has suggested that the fragment may belong in the song by which Terpander was believed to have calmed the discord in Sparta, but the lines may just as well come from any hexametric poem or song about Sparta, perhaps, for example, from one performed at the Carneian festival.[81]

(e) The last extant verses ascribed to Terpander in antiquity, belong in a hymn to Zeus composed in spondaic feet:

Ζεῦ, πάντων ἀρχά, πάντων ἁγήτωρ,
Ζεῦ, σοὶ πέμπω ταύταν ὕμνων ἀρχάν (fr. 3 Campbell)[82]

Zeus, the beginning of all, the leader of all;
Zeus, to you I send this beginning of hymns.

The solemn metre composed exclusively of long syllables, and the phrase ὕμνων ἀρχά ("the beginning of the hymns") suggest that the verses come from a prooemium or hymn composed for a religious ceremony; cf. the end-lines of the *Homeric Hymns*. The song is suitable for libations (σπονδή).[83] We may have here an example of a song composed to the *Spondeion* melody/nome, and used to accompany offerings to Zeus Agetor, the leader of Lacedaemonian troops in battle, before the army went to war.[84] In that case we have a fragment of another "Spartan" poem of Terpander.

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[80] Plut. *Lyc.* 21 = Terp. fr. 6 Bergk, Smyth, Edmonds, 5 Gostoli, but cf. Page in PMG, p. 363. Note the formulaic language of the fragment, cf. *Homeric Hymns* 14.2, 17.1, 20.1.

[81] Smyth 1963:169.

[82] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6.11.88. Clement's source is most probably Aristoxenus (fr. 84 Wehrli) who is cited only in a previous sentence. In modern editions the fragment is number 6 in Bergk, Smyth, and Edmonds, 5 in Gostoli. Page does not believe the fragment to be Terpander's (PMG, p. 363). About the many different arrangements of the fragment's metre, see Bergk in PLG^4:iii.8, Müller 1858:206 f., and Campbell 1993:71.

[83] See Richardson 1993 AD 23.221. LSJ: ὁ σπονδεῖος (νόμος): "a piece of music used at libations." The auletic *Spondeion* was ascribed to Olympus and was believed to be the first composition in enharmonic genus, see Aristox. (fr. 83 Wehrli) ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 11.1134f–1135b, and also the aulodic σπονδειάζων or σπονδειακός τρόπος in 19.1137bc. See also West 1982:55 f., 1992:73 f., Barker 1984:i.216–217 with notes and 255–257, Winnington-Ingram 1928, Weil & Reinach 1900:46.110 (*ad* 11.1135b).

[84] See Clement's commentary (*Strom.* 6.121.88) on the verses. Clement adds that the piece was composed in the Dorian style/mode. About Zeus Agetor see Burkert 1985:257. Another spondaic song used at libations is fr. 4 Campbell which is ascribed to Terpander besides Campbell by Bergk (fr. *3), Edmonds (3), Gostoli (°8), Smyth (3).

Three other fragments (4 and 5 Campbell) are cautiously ascribed to Terpander by some modern commentators, but these ascriptions have no support from ancient sources.[85]

As is seen from the fragments and their testimonia, Terpander was believed to have composed prooemia and hymns in spondaic and dactylic (not always a regular hexameter) metres. He is also reported to have composed in elegiac metre.[86] The fragments indicate that Terpander used traditional formulaic language in his songs, which may explain why so little of his poetry has survived: they were probably merged in the pool of traditional hexametric poetry.[87] It may also explain why Terpander's biographical tradition relies comparatively little on the verses ascribed to him. The formulaic poetry simply gave no hints about the life of its author.

The nomes, prooemia, and scolia

Terpander's music was a topic of a great interest for the scholars of the Classical period. We have fragments of information concerning it by Pindar, Timotheus, and Glaucus from the fifth century, and by Aristotle, Heracleides Ponticus, and Phaenias of Eresus from the fourth century.[88] However, the extant information is so confused and contradictory that it seems that the Classical period and later authors had no clear conception of what exactly was meant by the "music of Terpander." For example, according to Heracleides Ponticus, the citharodic nome was a kind of definite melody set for poetry sung to the cithara, and it was established, or at least named, at the time of Terpander.[89] He especially emphasizes

[85] Two are ascribed to Terpander by Bergk (fr. *3 and *4 Bergk in PLG^4 vol. iii = *7, °8 Gostoli), and one by Leutsch (fr. °9 Gostoli). See Bergk in PLG^4:iii.10, Gostoli 1990:54–56 with a commentary in pp. 146–151, and also Negri (1992:494–499), who argues that Pindaric 325 Sn.-M. may belong to Terpander.

[86] Heracl. in [Plut.] *Mus.* 3.1132c.

[87] Although several modern commentators doubt the authorship of the few fragments ascribed to Terpander, there is no reason why some of his songs might not have been transmitted and performed under his name throughout the Archaic and Classical period.

[88] Pi. fr. 124d, 125 Sn.-M., Timoth. *Pers.* fr. 6e (791.221–231 PMG), Glaucus in [Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132e, 7.1133f, 9.1134df, Arist. *Probl.* 920a, Heracl. Pont. in [Plut.] *Mus.* 3.1131f–1132c, 4.1132d, Phaenias fr. 10 Wehrli ap. Athen. 14.638c. [Plutarch] also mentions Aristoxenus of Tarentum (11.1134f, 15.1136cd, 17.1136f, 43.1146), Plato (15.1136bc, 17.1136ef, 22.1138c–e) and Anticleides (14.1136a) as his sources. About the authorship and sources of the *De musica*, see Einarsson and De Lacey's edition (Loeb) p. 344 ff., Lasserre 1954:101 ff., Barker 1984:i.205 and Gostoli 1990:LI–LII.

[89] Heracl. Pont. fr. 157 Wehrli ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 3.1132c: καὶ γὰρ τὸν Τέρπανδρον

that Terpander set his own and Homer's hexameters to music appropriate to each nome. However, from the list of the titles of Terpandrean nomes by Heracleides, Pollux, and the Suda, it follows that the nomes could be also in other metres, for example in trochaic and lyric metres.[90]

Seven to ten nomes are mentioned as Terpander's in ancient sources.[91] They were called *Aeolian* and *Boeotian* allegedly according to the people whose music they were modelled, *Oxys* and *Tetraoidios* by the mode, *Terpandrean* and *Cepion/Capion* with reference to the poet himself and to his lover or disciple, and *Trochaios* and *Orthios* by their rhythm.[92] [Plutarch's] information that Terpander was also believed to have invented the

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ἔφη κιθαρῳδικῶν ποιητὴν ὄντα νόμων, κατὰ νόμον ἕκαστον τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὁμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα ᾄδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν· ἀποφῆναι δὲ τοῦτον λέγει ὀνόματα πρῶτον τοῖς κιθαρῳδικοῖς νόμοις. See also n. 90 below. About the πρῶτοι εὑρεταί in ancient music history see Kleingünther 1933:135–143.

[90] Heracl. Pont. ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132d: οἱ δὲ τῆς κιθαρῳδίας νόμοι πρότερον ⟨οὐ⟩ πολλῷ χρόνῳ τῶν αὐλῳδικῶν κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ Τερπάνδρου· ἐκεῖνος γοῦν τοὺς κιθαρῳδικοὺς πρότερος ὠνόμασε, Βοιώτιόν τινα καὶ Αἰόλιον Τροχαῖόν τε καὶ Ὀξὺν Κηπίωνά τε καὶ Τερπάνδρειον καλῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Τετραοίδιον. Clement uses the verb μελοποιέω while talking about Terpander's activity in composing the "Lacedaemonian nomes," perhaps referring to the lyric metres of these nomes: μέλος τε αὖ πρῶτος περιέθηκε τοῖς ποιήμασι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων νόμους ἐμελοποίησε Τέρπανδρος ὁ Ἀντισσαῖος (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.78.5).

Pollux *Onom.* 4.65: νόμοι δ' οἱ Τερπάνδρου ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὅθεν ἦν, Αἰόλιος καὶ Βοιώτιος, ἀπὸ δὲ ῥυθμῶν Ὄρθιος καὶ Τροχαῖος, ἀπὸ δὲ τρόπων Ὀξὺς καὶ Τετραοίδιος, ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἐρωμένου Τερπάνδρειος καὶ Καπίων. σφάλλονται δ' οἱ καὶ ἀπόθετον προστιθέντες αὐτῷ καὶ σχοινίωνα· οὗτοι γὰρ αὐλητικοί.

Suda s.v. νόμος· ὁ κιθαρῳδικὸς τρόπος τῆς μελῳδίας, ἁρμονίαν ἔχων τακτὴν καὶ ῥυθμὸν ὡρισμένον. ἦσαν δὲ ἑπτὰ οἱ ὑπὸ Τερπάνδρου, ὧν εἷς ὄρθιος, τετράδιος, ὀξύς.

Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος, *cit.* in p. 136 n. 4.

[91] According to [Plutarch], some of the cithara nomes ascribed to Terpander were in fact believed to have been composed by Philammon of Delphi (*Mus.* 5.1133b, see also the Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος, p. 136 n. 4). The "glorious-voiced" Philammon son of Apollo and Cyllene is first mentioned by Hesiod (fr. 64 MW, also Hyg. *Fab.* 200 and 161). He was believed to have been the father of Thamyris who challenged the Muses in singing (Paus. 4.33.3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.2, schol. ad Eur. *Rhes.* 916 ap. Apollod. 244 F 162), and to have lived before the return of the Heracleids in Sparta (Paus. 2.37.2), in 1283 (Eus. *Chron.* p. 55b Helm) or 1293 (the Armenian version) BC. He was said to have established the mysteries of Lerna (Paus. 2.37.2) and gained the victory at the second Pythian Games (Paus. 10.7.2). Heracleides says that Philammon sang about the wanderings of Leto and the birth of Apollo and Artemis, and that he was the first to set up choirs at the Delphic shrine (Heracl. ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 3.1132a, cf. Pherec. 3 F 120, and Eus. Abr. 734 (Helm) or 724 (Karst)).

[92] Pollux *Onom.* 4.65, [Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132d, Suda s.v. Ὄρθιον νόμον καὶ τροχαῖον. Modern commentators share the view that the *Tetraoidios* gained its name by its structure rather than by mode, containing four parts which may or may not have been sung in different tonality (cf. Lasserre 1954:94, Barker 1984:i.251, Gostoli 1990:xxi). Lasserre explains the name of the nome *Cepion* as a derivation from the diminutive of the word

marked trochee, and the style of orthian melody which uses the orthian foot, agrees with the latter account.[93] Suda, however, citing Aristophanes' lines which include the words "τὸν Ὄρθριον νόμον," offers an alternative derivation for the name of the nome: it gained its name either by its steep pitch (ὄρθιος) or from the word "day-break" (ὄρθρος).[94] It is more likely, however, that "Orthrios" in Aristophanes' text is a pun on an old citharodic nome rather than a separate nome or another name for Terpander's *Orthian*. Two other nomes which were ascribed to Terpander were *Apothetos* ("secret") and *Schoinion* ("stretched (?)").[95] These were auletic nomes and for that reason they are discarded from the works of Terpander by Pollux and modern commentators, but I cannot see why Terpander could not have composed music both to cithara and aulos, especially when a considerably earlier source than Pollux, the *Marmor Parium*, seems to refer to Terpander's auletic nomes as well.[96] Moreover, the *Phrygian* nome, which was otherwise linked to Olympus and was therefore probably believed to be aulodic, is linked to Terpander by some sources.[97] Pollux says that the Terpandrean nome was divided into seven parts: ἀρχά, μεταρχά, κατατροπά, μετακατατροπά, ὀμφαλός, σφράγις, and ἐπίλογος.[98] At least in later antiquity the composition of early nomes was thought to have been strictly regulated: [Plutarch] reports that the

κῆπος ("a garden") (1954:94, see also Barker 1984:i.251), and Wilamowitz from κηπίον ("a decoration"), suggesting that the nome was a particularly elaborate one (1903:90 n. 1).

93 [Plut.] *Mus.* 28.1140f. The occasion for composing and performing music in the *Orthian* nome (and consequently for inventing the orthian foot) may have been the cult of Artemis Orthia, as is argued in p. 141 n. 36.

94 Suda s.v. Ὄρθριος νόμος· οὕτω καλούμενος νόμος κιθαρῳδικός. Ἀριστοφάνης· πολλάκις ἀναστήσασά μ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀωρὶ νύκτωρ διὰ τὸν ὄρθριον νόμον. οἶμαι, ὄρθιον θέλει, ἢ ὄρθριον, διὰ τὸν ὄρθρον (cf. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 741).

95 Pollux *Onom.* 4.65. LSJ and Suppl. gives "an air on the aulos," "rope," and "reed" for σχοινίως. Einarson and De Lacey 1963:360 translate the *Schoinion* as "cable" meaning a loose and long nome, West calls the nome "drawn out like a rope."

96 *Marmor* Ep. 34, see p. 137 n. 6. The invention of the *Apothetos* and *Schoinion* were ascribed also to Clonas, an aulode of Tegea or Thebes ([Plut.] *Mus.* 5.1133a, Pollux 4.79).

97 Schol. ad Aristoph. *Ach.* 13: τὸ δὲ Βοιώτιον μέλος οὕτω καλούμενον, ὅπερ εὗρε Τέρπανδρος. ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Φρύγιον. But see the Suda s.v. Μόσχος ᾄδων Βοιώτιον· τὸ δὲ Βοιώτιον οὕτω καλούμενον εὗρε Τέρπανδρος ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Φρύγιος [i.e. Olympus]. The *Phrygian* nome is ascribed to Olympus by Apostolius (11.79) and Pollux 4.78. Stesichorus mentions a *Phrygian melody* in fr. 212 PMG.

98 Pollux *Onom.* 4.66. About the structure of the nome, see Groningen 1955:177–182, Barker 1984:i.251 with n. 264, Gostoli 1990:xxiii f. Another late explanation of the term "nomos," by Photius (*Bibl.* 320a33–b11), runs into a vicious circle: he says that the nome was named after Apollo Nomimos, and Apollo was called Nomimos because people sang the nome for him to the cithara or aulos in ancient times.

nomes were called "nomoi" because it was forbidden to transgress the accepted pitch established for each type.[99]

Heracleides says that Terpander performed his own hexameters and those of Homer according to his own nomes at the contests.[100] Ancient sources do not specify which of Terpander's nomes was hexametric, but since Terpander gained the greatest fame probably by performing the noblest of poetry, the hexametric, in competitions at big festivals at which multitudes of people gathered and listened to his singing and playing, it may well be that the *Terpandrean* was one of the hexametric nomes, named after its famous author. Cf. Photius' information that Terpander improved the nome by using it with the hexameter.[101]

The different and complicated definitions of the nome proposed by modern commentators indicate that they do not have a unanimous conception of what should be meant by an Archaic nome either. Firstly, Müller and his followers suggest that the Terpandrean citharodic nome is a finished monodic composition with distinctive normative parts, in which a certain musical idea was systematically worked out and maintained throughout the song.[102] Fowler adds that the nomes were used to sing the non-Ionian alternative to epic, i.e. epic themes in not necessarily pure hexametric metre.[103] The second cluster of opinions has the nomes as specific, fairly fixed monodic, probably traditional, musical patterns among which a citharode could choose the suitable one and adapt it for a certain formal occasion.[104] Some of the supporters of this view believe the

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[99] [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133bc: ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ἑκάστῳ διετήρουν τὴν οἰκείαν τάσιν. διὸ καὶ ταύτην ⟨τὴν⟩ ἐπωνυμίαν εἶχον· νόμοι γὰρ προσηγορεύθησαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν παραβῆναι ⟨τὸ⟩ καθ' ἕκαστον νενομισμένον εἶδος τῆς τάσεως. Cf. the story by Plutarch that the Spartans took Terpander's cithara and fined the poet for adding an extra string to give variety of sound (*Inst. Lac.* 17.238c).

[100] Heracl. Pont. fr. 157 Wehrli (see below, p. 152 n. 89).

[101] Photius *Bibl.* 320a33–b11.

[102] Müller 1858:206, Pavese 1977:237, Fowler 1987:96, *et al.*

[103] Fowler, *loc. cit.* Barker maintains that the extant ancient sources about the meaning of the nome reflect the views of the Classical and later scholars who used a piece of modern terminology as a label for ancient traditional compositions ascribed to Terpander, the compositions which they thought to have been subject to strict rules. According to Barker, the ancient authors believed the citharodic nome to be a genre of solo concert songs written in epic hexameter, and performed most frequently (but not only) at competitive festivals by a soloist accompanying himself on a cithara. Barker emphasizes that this is a view of the fifth century and later authors and it does not explain adequately the genuine practice of seventh and sixth century citharodes. See Barker 1984:i.38, 249–255, ii.432 n. 146.

[104] See Lasserre 1954:27f., Gostoli 1990:xvi–xxviii, West 1971a:309–311, 313, 1992:215–217, Robbins 1992, *et al.*

early nomes to have been genre-specific, some do not.[105] Smith believes that the early nomes were simple tunes from which others could be freely derived by slight variation; and these latter were called μέλη. Some of the nomes were derived from old tunes ascribed to the ancient bards (Terpander among them), and others from national melodies. Thus the nomes were, according to this view, neither fixed compositions nor even distinctive formal melody-patterns, but simply traditional tunes. Neither were they all adapted to the heroic hexameter but accompanied also other metres.[106]

Heracleides informs us that, in addition to hexametric poems set to the nomes, Terpander composed the preludes sung to the cithara in hexameters as well.[107] From that we can conclude that the citharodic nomes and the citharodic prooemia were believed to be different settings, although they both were (according to Heracleides) in hexameter, and sung to the cithara. Since the extant ancient sources never mention any themes of Terpander's songs, and imply that the nomes could be used for accompanying songs in different metres, and since several names of the nomes are at least seemingly derived from their musical properties, it seems most likely that the ancient authors generally saw the early nome as entirely a musical term: a melody-pattern suitable to accompany different types of songs or poems, whereas the citharodic prooemium could have been seen as a piece of poetry in various metres used to introduce an epic poem or hymn. The prooemia were accompanied by cithara music, usually by nomes but not necessarily always, since, according to [Plutarch], the citharodes used to "dedicate themselves to the gods (i.e. to sing a prooemium) in any way they wished" before proceeding to the poetry of Homer and other authors (accompanied by the music-patterns fixed in a higher degree).[108] Modern commentators

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[105] West 1992:216: "[The nome] was not, initially, genre-specific: the word could be applied to melodies accompanying hexameter poetry, elegy, iambic verse, lyric narrative, epinicians, dithyrambs," *pace* Robbins 1990:9: "Terpander was principally a musician who established specific melodic patterns to be performed on the seven-stringed lyre and used them for the singing of hymns and of Homer."

[106] Philip Smith in DGRBM s.v. *Terpander*, Vetter in RE V.A s.v. *Terpandros*. Apart from all the views mentioned above stands Farnell's opinion that the term νόμος is applied to early religious monodic song, chiefly to chants or tunes of a fixed type in hexameter, sung by the priest, to the accompaniment of the lyre, at the altar of Apollo (1891:6 f.).

[107] [Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132d: πεποίηται δὲ τῷ Τερπάνδρῳ καὶ προοίμια κιθαρῳδικὰ ἐν ἔπεσιν. Cf. Heracleides in p. 152 n. 89 as well.

[108] [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133c. Cf. Suda s.v. νόμος according to which the nome is determined by distinctive *harmonia* and rhythm.

have suggested that there existed a set of citharodic prooemia collectively ascribed to Terpander, comparable to the corpus of rhapsodic prooemia ascribed to Homer (the *Homeric Hymns*), but there is nothing in ancient sources to support this view.[109]

The invention of the *Mixolydian* mode is ascribed to Terpander by [Plutarch] (*Mus.* 28.1140f.), although only a few chapters above (16.1136c) he had referred to the opinions of Aristoxenus and "the writers on harmonics" that it was Sappho who had invented this mode. Terpander was also credited with the invention of the genre of drinking songs (the *scolia*).[110] This suggests that he, like other poets in Archaic period, composed different types of music choosing the genre according to occasion: for festivals he wrote prooemia and hymns, for soldiers going to battle he wrote songs of exhortation, for symposia and syssitia the *scolia* and other types of lyric poetry.[111]

Terpander and the musical instruments

According to Pindar, Terpander invented the *barbitos* after hearing the Lydian *pectis*.[112] *Barbitos* is a long-armed bowl lyre with a deeper pitch and softer tone than the common lyre used mainly at symposia.[113] It is possible that Terpander built an instrument similar to the Lydian *pectis* and *magadis* (which were sometimes thought to have been one and the same instrument), but it is more probable that he simply used the *barbitos*

[109] Wilamowitz 1900:7, followed by West 1971a:307, Pavese 1977:237, and Fowler 1987:96. The *Homeric Hymns* as the prooemia of Terpander or his school: Weil & Reinach 1900:19 n. 45, more cautiously Barker 1984:i.38. It is more probable that the *Hymns* are older pieces of traditional poetry performed by both rhapsodes and citharodes, the latter (or both) accompanying the song on the cithara. See also Müller 1858:206, Gostoli 1990:xxix–xxxiii. I agree with Robbins that Gostoli's distinction between prooemia and citharodic epic as genres is a bit too far-reaching. See Gostoli 1990:xxxiii–xxxvii, Robbins 1992:8.

[110] Pi. fr. 124d Sn.-M. ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 28.1140f.

[111] Prooemia: see frr. 2 and 6 Campbell and [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133c. Hymns: fr. 3 Campbell (698 PMG). Exhorative songs: fr. 7 Campbell. Lyric poetry: Heracl. Pont. ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 3.1132c: Heracleides compares Clonas with Terpander and implies that both poets composed in elegiac and hexameter verse.

[112] Pi. fr. 125 Sn.-M., see p. 136 n. 1 above.

[113] See Barker 1984:i.14, 264 n. 19, Maas & Snyder 1989:9f., 113f., West 1992:57f. and plate 19. Cf. Pindar (fr. 124d Sn.-M.) that Terpander was an inventor of the *scolia* which were performed at symposia.

to accompany his songs, and being famous himself he popularized this rich-sounding instrument known already by earlier musicians.[114]

Aristotle, inquiring into the question why the diapason is so called and not named "diocto" after the number of notes, suggests that the harp originally had seven strings (and seven notes), of which Terpander removed the third highest one (the original τρίτη), and added another, the highest-pitched string (the νήτη).[115] Plutarch agrees with Aristotle in respect of the number of the strings Terpander added to the lyre, telling a story how the musician was fined by the Spartan ephors and his cithara was taken away and nailed on the wall because he had fitted one extra string to six-stringed lyre.[116] Nicomachus, in turn, lists the persons who had added the strings to the lyre: Hermes, the inventor of the lyre, had attached four strings to it, Coroebus the king of Lydia added the fifth string, Hyagnis the Phrygian the sixth, and Terpander the seventh following the model of seven planets.[117] Other sources, however, represent the strong belief that Terpander improved the "old" four-stringed lyre by adding three extra strings and thus inventing the seven-stringed cithara.[118]

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[114] Puech 1961:192, van Groningen 1960:118–121, *contra*: Gostoli 1990:111f. Some commentators suggest that Terpander invented the *barbitos* in order to play elaborate tunes on the *pectis* and *barbitos* simultaneously (Edmonds 1928:17, Gulick 1937:429, Campbell 1988:305), or in order to accompany the lyre in such a way that the two instruments together would sound as if played on the *pectis* (Gostoli 1990:112), but we have no information whatsoever that there would have been two (or more) musicians playing at the performance of Terpander's music and poetry. About the *pectis* and *magadis*: Aristox. and Menaechm. in Athen. 14.635e.

[115] Arist. *Probl.* 920a, cf. [Plut.] *Mus.* 28.1140f which says that Terpander was credited with the invention of the Dorian *nete*.

[116] Plut. *Inst. Lac.* 17.238c.

[117] Nicomachus *Exc.* 1 and ap. Boeth. *De mus.* 1.20 (pp. 205–228 ss. Friedlein). See also the *Hymn to Hermes* 39–51. The corrupt text of Timotheus (791.221–231 PMG): ΤΕΡΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΑΕΠΙΤΩΙΔΕΚΑΤΕΥΞΕΜΟΥΣΑΝΕΝΩΔΑΙΣ has been read by Wilamowitz as Τέρπανδρος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ δέκα ζεῦξε (1903:27, followed by Schmid-Stählin 1929:404 and Campbell 1988:306), meaning that Terpander attached ten strings to the cithara (ᾠδαί as "the strings"). Mazon (1903:209–214) interpreted Wilamowitz' reading as meaning that Terpander had composed ten different nomes (or songs, cf. Edmonds 1928:19), and Del Grande (1923:6) suggested that Terpander used several seven-stringed citharas simultaneously so that the music they produced sounded like a ten-voiced melody. See Gostoli 1990:112–114, and PMG p. 413. I agree with Gostoli (1990:112–114) that it might be better to interpret the actual lettering in the papyrus as meaning that Terpander simply took the art of singing to the new level.

[118] Str. 13.2.4 (618). The seven- and eight-stringed instruments were used already in the Minoan culture. However, they begin to appear on vase-paintings more regularly and abundantly only in the seventh century when Terpander was (thought to be) active. Terpander may have been one of the earliest bards to use the seven-stringed cithara regularly, helping it to spread throughout the Greek world (Gostoli 1990:xl, West 1992:53).

7. *The date of Terpander*

Terpander has a quite clear position in time in relation to other poets and musicians in tradition.[119] He was always regarded as a later figure than the (legendary) musicians Orpheus, Linus, Amphion,[120] and epic writers Homer, Hesiod, Lesches, and Arctinus.[121] He was also believed to be younger than Chrysothemis of Crete who "wearing splendid clothes took the cithara, and imitating Apollo, was the first to sing the nome in solo."[122] The early aulodes were placed slightly earlier than Terpander by Glaucus, and somewhat later by Heracleides,—the early aulodia and citharodia were probably felt to have developed more or less in the same time.[123] Archilochus too was sometimes placed slightly earlier and sometimes a little later than Terpander, yet allowing the poets to be contemporaries.[124] Thaletas of Crete was, on the one hand, believed to be slightly later than Terpander, as he established the second *katastasis* of music in Sparta

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Since Strabo cites the fragment ascribed to Terpander (fr. 6 Campbell) as a proof for the information that our musician was the first to use the seven-stringed instead of the four-stringed lyre, the whole tradition of augmenting the cithara probably gained support also from Terpander's poetry. Other authors who regard Terpander as an inventor of the seven-stringed cithara are Pliny (*NH* 7.204 in which the inventor of the original four-stringed cithara was either Amphion, Orpheus, or Linus), [Plutarch] (*Mus.* 30.1141c), and the Suda (s.v. Τέρπανδρος).

[119] About the ancient and modern dates of Terpander see Jacoby 1902:148 f. with n. 13 and 14, 1904:163 f., 189, 1941:100 f., and Mosshammer 1977, 1979:226–233 with notes.

[120] Timoth. 791.221–231 PMG, Plin. *NH* 7.204, Nicom. *Exc.* 1. The stories about Orpheus as an Argonaut, Linus as the teacher of Amphion and Heracles, and Amphion as the builder of Theban walls place them before Terpander as well (Pi. *P.* 4.315, Sim. 567 PMG, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.2, 2.4.9, 3.5.5–6, Paus. 9.5.6–8, 9.29.9, Suda s.v. Λίνος, and s.v. Ὀρφεύς).

[121] Suda s.v. Τέρπανδρος, Phaenias fr. 33 Wehrli, Eus. *Chron.* Ol.1.1 and 5.1 or Ol.1.2 and 4.4 Arm. (Arctinus), Ol.30.3 (Lesches), and Ol.34.3 (Terpander).

[122] Phot. *Bibl.* 320a33–b11. Photius regards Chrysothemis of Crete as the first to sing a nome, and Terpander to be the first who improved it by using hexametric poetry for the song. See also Ps.-Censorin. *De mus.* in GL vi.610.8 ff.

[123] Glaucus ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132e, Heracl. Pont. ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132d. Heracleides is not mentioned as a direct source in the latter passage. In the end of the previous section, however, the third paragraph of his Συναγωγή is referred to as a source for the compositions of Terpander. In the fourth paragraph when the topic is resumed, [Plutarch] seems to have returned to Heracleides' book. The Suda places "the younger" Olympus in the time of Midas (s.v. Ὄλυμπος, omicron 219 and 221 Adler).

[124] Phaenias fr. 33 Wehrli, and the Eusebian dates for Archilochus (see p. 112) and Terpander (Ol.34.3). The relative dates of Archilochus and Terpander do not, however, come from the succession of the genres of iambus and citharodia, but are probably derived from the synchronisms with Gyges and Midas respectively.

and founded the Gymnopaediae.[125] On the other hand, they both were synchronized with Lycurgus, Thaletas by Plutarch[126] and Terpander by Hieronymus of Rhodes.[127] Hieronymus (or his source) probably derived the date for Terpander from the link between him and Lycurgus in Spartan tradition.

Hellanicus may have used some ancient Spartan document as a source while writing his *Carneian Victors*.[128] From the extant accounts we know that he must have included the citharodes of Lesbos who had won at the Carneia in his list,—otherwise we would probably know nothing about such figures as Euaenetides, Aristocleides or Pericleitus. It seems, however, that the list Hellanicus compiled was not continuous. Had it been, it would have enabled to trace the absolute date of the first Carneian festival starting from some historically datable event. And if Hellanicus' list had provided an absolute date for the Carneia, Athenaeus would not have needed to use Sosibius' date for the festival in his passage. Thus, Sosibius probably did not take his 676 for the first Carneia from Hellanicus' list. Although it cannot be ruled out that he got the date directly from some Spartan document, if it existed, which also Hellanicus may have used, Mosshammer has proposed that Sosibius, seeking for the absolute dates for the establishment of the various festivals, simply placed the Carneia exactly one hundred years after the first Olympiad. This date, 676 BC, became on the grounds of Hellanicus' synchronism between the poet and the festival, the point of reference for Terpander.[129] On the other hand, Sosibius may have derived the Carneian date from Hellanicus' another account for Terpander: the poet lived (γέγονε) at the time of Midas the king of Phrygia.[130] There was a tradition that Midas

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125 See p. 143.

126 *Lyc.* 4

127 Hieron. in Athen. 14.635ef: ὅτι δὲ καὶ Τέρπανδρος ἀρχαιότερος Ἀνακρέοντος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος (4 F 85a) ἱστορεῖ ἔν τε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις κἀν τοῖς καταλογάδην. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα (676 / 2), ὡς Σωσίβιός (595 F 3) φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρόνων. Ἱερώνυμος (fr. 33 Wehrli) δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Κιθαρῳδῶν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πέμπτον τῶν Περὶ ποιητῶν, κατὰ Λυκοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν Τέρπανδρόν φησι γενέσθαι, ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἠλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων (777 / 6) θέσιν διαθεῖναι.

128 In the same way as he used the list of Athenian archons in his *Attic History* and Argive chronology in his redaction of the priestresses of Hera (see Mosshammer 1979:88, 91). About his use of the list of Carneian victors see also *ibid.* 92.

129 Mosshammer 1977:126.

130 Hell. 4 F 85b ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.131, *cit.* in p. 113 n. 122.

poisoned himself in the face of a Cimmerian invasion of his kingdom.[131] According to Herodotus (1.15), the Cimmerians stormed Asia Minor at the time of Ardys the son of Gyges. Apollodorus' date for the first year of Ardys' reign is 678/7.[132] Therefore, Sosibius' 676 is the third year of Ardys in Apollodorus' system, and would be suitable for the date of the Cimmerian invasion and Midas' death. Midas and Terpander were, as was known from Hellanicus, contemporaries, and since Terpander was a victor of the first Carneia, Sosibius may have concluded that the festival was established in 676.

Glaucus of Rhegium believed Terpander to have lived earlier than Archilochus.[133] Obviously he regarded citharodia as a genre (represented by Terpander) as having developed later than aulodia, and slightly earlier than iambic poetry (represented by Archilochus).[134] Since Archilochus was synchronized with Gyges who was believed to have been a younger contemporary of Midas, Glaucus must have agreed with Hellanicus (or vice versa?) stating that Terpander was a contemporary with Midas.[135]

Phaenias of Eresus, in turn, claims Terpander to be later than Archilochus, and therefore does not agree with Glaucus or Hellanicus.[136] It has been suggested that Phaenias' opinion may be based on his understanding of the development of music and poetry.[137] He might have compiled a relative chronology of the musical styles, placing citharodia (Terpander)

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[131] Eustath. in *Od.* 11.14, cf. the account, ascribed to Africanus by Geltzer (1875:252 with n. 6), that Midas died at Ol.26 (676/2).

[132] See Jacoby 1902:193. About the dates of the Lydian kings, see p. 113 n. 122.

[133] καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις δὲ σφόδρα παλαιός ἐστι· πρεσβύτερον γοῦν αὐτὸν Ἀρχιλόχου ἀποφαίνει Γλαῦκος ὁ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐν συγγράμματί τινι τῷ Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν δεύτερον γενέσθαι μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ποιήσαντας αὐλῳδίαν ([Plut.] *Mus.* 4.1132e).

[134] Gostoli suggests that Glaucus meant Archilochus to be the one who "came second after the first aulodes," and thus Terpander would be only slightly older than the iambic poet,—the reading which would fit with Apollodorus' opinion of the chronology of the two poets (1990:73f., and see below). Although Terpander and Archilochus most probably were near contemporaries, I do not think that Gostoli is quite correct in reading the passage that way, since Terpander is linked with the tradition of the first aulodes much more strongly than Archilochus, and it is Terpander's, not Archilochus' antiquity that is discussed in [Plutarch's] passage.

[135] The synchronism Archilochus-Gyges derives from Archilochus' poetry (fr. 19 W) and from Hdt. 1.12. Midas was believed to be earlier according to Hdt. 1.14 which says that Gyges was the second barbarian after Midas to send an offering to Delphi: οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεω, Φρυγίης βασιλέα.

[136] Phaenias fr. 33, see above p. 113 n. 122.

[137] Jacoby 1904a:164,189, Mosshammer 1977 and 1979:229–232.

after early iambus (Archilochus) and cyclic epic (Lesches), and before dithyramb (Arion), and thus established an interval between the early iambists (the end of Gyges' rule) and Arion/Periander (the beginning of Alyattes' rule) corresponding roughly to the years 670 to 620. Furthermore, Phaenias (or indeed Hellanicus) may have derived the absolute dates by applying a theory of musical succession: starting from the Panathenaic victory of Phrynis in 446/5, the fifth forty-year period would yield a date 645/4 recorded for Terpander in the *Marmor Parium*.[138] 645/4 is also very close to the Eusebian date Ol.34.3 (642/1) for Terpander. Mosshammer concludes that Phaenias was the source for both the *Marmor* and Eusebius in respect of the dates of Lesches, Terpander, and Arion.[139]

This theory, however, is not without a few problems. First, why would Phaenias have regarded iambic poetry (Archilochus) as earlier than epic poetry (Lesches)? If Phaenias compiled the list of poetic styles concerning Lesbian poetry only, which would explain the choice of Lesches of Mytilene or Pyrrha as a representative of epic poetry, then what is the Parian Archilochus doing on the list?[140] And if Phaenias really compiled his chronological list of musical genres and their representatives, which became the source for Eusebian respective dates, then why did he use the forty-years interval only for establishing the relative dates of the members of Terpandrean school, and did not use this device in calculating the intervals between the representatives of the genres? For there is forty-years interval only between Arion and Lesches in Eusebius' *Chronicle*, whereas Terpander is placed only sixteen years later than Lesches,

[138] *ibid.*

[139] Mosshammer 1979:229f. The dates for these poets, according to Eusebius, are Ol.30.3 (658/7) for Lesches, Ol.34.3 (642/1) for Terpander, and Ol.40.2 (619/8) for Arion. Syncellus' (401, 402 Mosshammer) accounts that the poet lived around 741–614 BC according to the list of Macedonian kings, are probably based on the Eusebian date, see Mosshammer 1977:132 n. 72 and 1979:342 n. 7 *pace* Miller 1971:109–112 (see also Downey 1974:1152).

[140] Even the inclusion of Archilochus in the list would not explain why iambic poetry is placed before epic poetry. Phaenias synchronized Lesches with Arctinus of Miletus (*cit.* in p. 113 n. 122). According to Artemon of Clazomenae, the contemporary of Pericles (443 F 2), Arctinus was a pupil of Homer, and lived in Ol.9 (744/1). Eusebius placed him in Ol.1.1 (777/6) or, in the Armenian version, Ol.5.1 (760/59). Eusebius' date may depend on the synchronisms Homer-Lycurgus-Ol.1 (see p. 47), and Homer-Arctinus (the latter's pupil). Eusebius placed Lesches much later, in Ol.30.3 (658/7), synchronizing him with Alcman. It seems that the opinion that Lesches was a later poet developed after the Classical period. The view that Cyclic epic is later than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is modern.

and twenty-three years earlier than Arion.[141] Thus, although it is quite plausible that the Lesbian chronographers (Hellanicus, Phaenias) had a clear idea about the relative chronological positions between the poets and musicians of Lesbos, we still do not know what made Phaenias claim Terpander to be later than Archilochus. Nor can we be sure that Eusebius derived his date for Terpander from Phaenias' work, as Mosshammer has suggested.

Both *Marmor*'s and the Eusebian dates for the poet (*ca.* 645 / 640) correspond, however, almost exactly with the Eusebian and the Suda's dates for the Second Messenian War, and also with the Spartans' sending for Tyrtaeus (644 / 633).[142] Could it be that Terpander's activity in settling the civil strife was believed to have been connected with the unrest during that particular war, and the poet was, consequently, placed in the time of Tyrtaeus and the Second Messenian War?[143] If this is the case, then the Eusebian and the *Marmor's* date would be established on the basis of Spartan chronography.[144]

In conclusion, the chronographers followed chiefly two strands of argumentation for dating Terpander. The sources of the first strand were the works of Hellanicus and Glaucus, which synchronized the poet with king Midas, the establishment of the Carneian festival in Sparta, and with Archilochus (the latter being younger than Terpander). Sosibius may have either constructed the date of the first Carneia on the basis of the date of the establishment of the Olympic Games, or used Hellanicus' synchronism between Midas and Terpander, Herodotus' information about the Cimmerian invasion, and the tradition that Midas committed

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[141] Ol.29.1 (664 / 3) for Archilochus is probably an Apollodorean date in Eusebius. Nevertheless, even the alternative Eusebian date for Archilochus, Ol.23.1 (*Praep. Evang.* 10.11.4, cf. Eus. *Chron.* Ol.23.1) is still only thirty years earlier than the date for Lesches.

[142] Suda s.v. Τυρταῖος: Tyrtaeus flourished in Ol.35 (640 / 37); Eus. *Chron.* Ol.36.4: *Myrtaeus* (*pro* Tyrtaeus) *Atheniensis poeta cognoscitur*. According to some accounts, Tyrtaeus was, just like Terpander and Thaletas, invited to Sparta to reverse a civic disaster (Ael. *VH* 12.50, Arist. *Pol.* 1360b36).

[143] As is suggested by Mait Kõiv in yet unpublished *A note on the dates of the poets and festivals in Archaic Sparta* (a provisional title).

[144] Also the date of the establishment of the Gymnopaediae by Thaletas in 688 ([Plut.] *Mus.* 9.1134bc) may be linked with the Second Messenian War,—according to Pausanias (4.15.1, 4.23.4) the war took place between 685 and 668. However, if Terpander had been synchronized with the Second Messenian War, one would expect some more links between him and Tyrtaeus in tradition.

We do not have Apollodorus' exact date for Terpander. Mosshammer has suggested that he may have accepted Glaucus' (and Hellanicus') claim that Terpander was earlier than Archilochus, see Mosshammer 1977 and 1979:226–233, and Jacoby 1902:148.

suicide at the time of that invasion, for deriving the absolute date for the first Carneia and therefore also for Terpander.

Another strand of chronology seems to be based on the synchronism between Terpander and the Second Messenian War, and is represented by the *Marmor's* and Eusebius' dates for the poet (645 / 4 and 642 respectively). *Marmor* and Eusebius may or may not have used Phaenias' work as their source. Hieronymus' synchronism between Terpander and Lycurgus is probably based on Terpander's numerous links with Sparta in tradition.

The relative dates for the Lesbian musicians were probably expressed clearly already in Hellanicus' *Carneian victors* which used the old records of the festival as a source. Hellanicus' list did not, however, include all the victors but only the ones of Lesbos. If we accept the forty-years long generation, the relative chronology of the citharodes of Lesbos may have looked like the following (see also p. 146):[145]

1. Terpander (*ca.* 645 / 4);
2. Cepion (the pupil of Terpander, *ca.* 605 / 4);
3. Euaenetides (*ca.* 565 / 4);
4. Pericleitus (the last Lesbian citharode who won at the Carneia, *ca.* 525 / 4);
5. Aristocleides (flourished at the time of the Persian War, *ca.* 485 / 4);
6. Phrynis (the pupil of Aristocleides, won the music contest at the Panathenaea in 446 / 5).

Almost all the absolute dates for Terpander lead to the first part and the middle of the seventh century, making Terpander more or less contemporary with Archilochus, Tyrtaeus, and Callinus.

8. *Formulaic themes in Terpander's tradition*

Typically, as with other poets, Terpander was believed to have famous ancestors: Homer, Hesiod, and perhaps also Dardanus the son of Zeus and an ancestor of the Trojan kings. Secondly, Terpander's tradition includes an oracle,—given to the Spartans about summoning the Lesbian singer to help them overcome the trouble at home. Consequently, Terpander's tradition includes the motif of healing by song: the poet

[145] Counting back from Phrynis' victory at the Panathenaea in 446 / 5. About Hellanicus' generations see Prakken 1943:64 f.

reconciled the Spartans and restored peace, delivered them from pestilence, or soothed their belligerent neighbours, by singing to the phorminx on the bank of Eurotas.

He participated in song contests, winning the music contests at the Carneian and at four successive Pythian Games. In addition to Sparta and Delphi, he travelled to Egypt, taking along the lyre of Orpheus, which was together with the latter's severed head thrown into the sea by the Thracian women and washed ashore in Antissa. In Egypt he showed the lyre to the local priests, lying that he himself had invented the instrument.[146] The account of Orpheus' lyre and prophesying head could function as an initiation story in Terpander's tradition, only it is hard to see why the fishermen should have taken the lyre to Terpander if he had not already been an established musician. Pindar's account that Terpander invented the *barbitos* "when he heard at Lydian feasts the plucked strings of the lofty *pectis*," could imply that the poet travelled to Lydia as well and took part (and, perhaps, performed his music) at the feasts there.[147] On the other hand, the "δεῖπνα Λυδῶν" in the fragment could have been understood as the feasts of the local Lydians of Lesbos.

Terpander was, suitably for a poet exiled from his home town: at the time the Spartans were looking for "the singer of Lesbos," he was banished from Antissa for a murder.[148] He also quarrelled with authorities (the Spartan ephors fined him and took his cithara for adding a string to it), and had a pupil (Capion or Cepion). The inventions and innovations ascribed to Terpander include the musical instruments (the *barbitos* and lyre) and their improvement (the increasing of strings of the cithara either to seven or ten), a new genre (the *scolia*), the *citharoidia* (singing and accompaning oneself to the cithara), musical devices (the *Mixolydian* mode, several citharodic and auletic nomes), and new metres (the marked trochee and the orthios foot).[149]

There is no clear account about the length of Terpander's life in his tradition, but as he was believed to have taken part in four consecutive Pythian Games, his active career must have been taken to last at least twenty-five years, since originally the Games took place every eight

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[146] Nicom. *Excerpta* 1. See also p. 138.
[147] Pi. fr. 125 Sn.-M. (*cit.* in p. 136 n. 1), translation by Campbell (1988:303–305).
[148] See also p. 141.
[149] For the references of the inventions, see p. 136 n. 1, p. 164 n. 146, p. 157 n. 115, 116, 117 and 118, p. 156 n. 110, p. 151, p. 137 n. 6, p. 153 n. 95, p. 156 n. 109, [Plut.] *Mus.* 6.1133bc, 28.1140f, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.78.5.

years.[150] His death from suffocation is again quite typical for a poet and musician. Terpander's life gave rise to two proverbs, the "Next to the singer of Lesbos" (μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν) and an obscure "Sweet as honey and let him choke" (γλυκύ μέλι καὶ πνιξάτω), probably referring to his voice/music and death.[151] He was also linked with other famous people both chronologically (with Midas, Lycurgus, Orpheus, Lesches, Clonas, Thaletas, Pericleitus, Archilochus, Anacreon, and Hipponax) and in stories with Orpheus (his lyre), Dardanus, Homer and Hesiod (ancestors).

In sum, Terpander's biographical tradition is highly formulaic and contains traditional topics such as the significant origin of a poet and his connections to other important figures; and the poet as a healer, traveller, inventor, teacher, murderer and an opponent to the authorities. There are hints about his initiation into poetry in tradition, and also about his exile, his song contests, his long life and his unusual death. His tradition also contains an oracle and a couple of proverbs. The high level of formulaic features in the tradition may indicate that by the Classical period nothing much was known about the historical poet, neither from the poems ascribed to him nor from local traditions.

9. *Conclusion*

The biographical tradition of Terpander centres mainly around two large topics. First, his visit to Sparta. This strand of tradition includes several elements conventional to the genre of biography, such as the oracle, sending for the poet who has been exiled from his home town for murder, restoring peace by song, the proverb, and death by accident. The whole account was probably developed and transmitted in local Spartan and Lesbian traditions,—at least some details are attested in the works of the Lesbian authors such as Hellanicus, Phaenias, and perhaps also in the poem of Sappho. Another main theme in the tradition is Terpander's music (his nomes and their names, the chronological relations of citharodia with other genres, innovative usage of different metres in songs, development of musical instruments and new genres). Besides the local legends, the tradition is to some extent formed on the basis of early records of the winners of musical contests (the list

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[150] Cf. OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Pythian Games*, Weil & Reinach 1900:20 n. 46.

[151] See p. 139 and 147.

of the Carneian and Pythian victors), which gave the names of the citharodes of the Lesbian school, and provided the relative dates for poets and musicians. Also the works on the history of early music by Classical and later authors (Glaucus, Aristotle, Aristoxenus, Heracleides, Hieronymus of Rhodes, *et al.*) provided the tradition with the opinions about the relations of Terpander (and the beginning of citharodia) and the representatives of other poetical and musical genres, and with the views how Terpander improved music, instruments and poetry. His own verses were probably the source of information about some his doings, for example about the types of songs he sang (proems, hymns, see frr. 1, 2, 3, 6 Campbell), the augmentation of the number of strings of the cithara (fr. 6), and the metre he used. The tradition about Terpander's connections with Sparta was to some extent supported by Terpander's poetry as well (frr. 7, 2?, 3?).

Terpander's tradition is of early origin. From the Classical sources we know his home town Antissa on Lesbos (Timotheus, Pindar) and several details of his life in Sparta: his victory at the Carneia (Hellanicus), account of the discord in Sparta, an oracle and the summoning of the Lesbian singer (Demetrius of Phaleron), and the proverb (Cratinus, Aristotle). The latter may be referred to already by Sappho. Among the inventions of Terpander, the Classical authors ascribed him the genre of drinking-songs and the *barbitos* (Pindar), the invention or naming of nomes (Heracleides Ponticus, Phaenias), and the augmenting of strings of the cithara from four to seven (or more) (Aristotle, Timotheus). The Classical authors were familiar with his dactylic (including hexametric), elegiac and other lyric poetry, as well as his citharodic music, which they knew he had performed at festivals, contests, and symposia (Pindar, Hellanicus, Glaucus, Aristotle, Heracleides). Also a quite clear conception about the date of Terpander existed in the Classical period: he was synchronized with Midas and the establishment of the first Carneian festival (Hellanicus), and with other poets and musicians (Timotheus, Glaucus, Phaenias), i.e. placed approximately between 700 and 650.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SAPPHO

1. *The tradition*

For some ancient authors Sappho was a beautiful poetess, "the Muse of Mytilene," with bright eyes, smooth skin and "face both gay and grave." For others she was a dark, unpleasant-looking, short, small and lustful woman, but nevertheless honoured for her wisdom and poetry.

According to tradition, she came from a well-off family, honoured and influential on Lesbos, which was forced to spend some time in exile on Sicily. Her mother's name is reported to be Cleis; her father, who may have been of foreign origin, is provided with ten different names by tradition, Scamandronymus being the most frequently mentioned among them. Sappho had three brothers called Larichus, Erigyius (or Eurygius), and Charaxus. The latter had a long-lasting and somewhat ruinous relationship with a notorious courtesan called Rhodopis or Doricha, for which he was much reproached by his sister, and which may have led him to become a pirate in the end.

Sappho was reportedly married to Cercylas, an immensely rich businessman from Andros. They had a daughter who was named Cleis after her grandmother. Sappho had many female companions, some of them being her friends, some pupils and some lovers. She was also believed to have had relationships with many men. One of these, a particularly unhappy love-affair with young, handsome Phaon is reported to have led her, broken hearted, to leap to her death from a cliff of Leucas.

Ancient authors synchronized Sappho with the Egyptian pharaohs Mycerinus, Amasis and Psammetichus, the Lydian king Alyattes, the tyrant Pittacus of Lesbos, and with the poets Alcaeus, Anacreon, Archilochus, Stesichorus and Hipponax, placing her therefore in a time span between *ca.* 2500 BC and the second part of the sixth century BC. Her absolute dates in ancient sources pin her, however, clearly to the turn of the seventh and sixth century BC.

Biographical information in Sappho's own and in other archaic poetry

Among Sappho's extant fragments are some which are thought to contain autobiographical material, provided that the "I" in the poems refers to herself,—something which is impossible to prove or disprove.

She mentions her name in at least three fragments, spelling it with initial "psi": Ψάπφ' in frr. 1, and 94, and Ψάπφοι in fr. 65. In most other ancient sources the name begins with "sigma."[1] G. Zuntz has explained this inconsistency in spelling by suggesting that Sappho used Ψ to denote a sound not exactly corresponding to Greek "sigma." He proposes that Sappho's name is of Asiatic origin, linked to god Ṣapōn, and "psi" in Ψαπφω stands for sibilant ṣ which other Greek authors replaced by ordinary "sigma."[2]

In fr. 5.1–10 she talks about her brother (probably the one called Charaxus) and his "past mistakes":[3]

> Κύπρι καὶ] Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι
> τὸν κασίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι
> κὤσσα ϝ]ọị θύμωι κε θέλη γένεσθαι
> πάντα τε]λέσθην,
>
> ὄσσα δὲ πρ]όσθ' ἄμβροτε πάντα λῦσα[ι
> καὶ φίλοισ]ι ϝοῖσι χάραν γένεσθαι
> κὠνίαν ἔ]χθροισι, γένοιτο δ' ἄμμι
> πῆμ' ἔτι μ]ηδ' εἶς;
>
> τὰν κασιγ]νήταν δὲ θέλοι πόησθαι
> ἔμμορον] τίμας, . . .

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[1] The only exceptions are an inscription on the late sixth century hydria in Goluchow, Poland, and some Lesbian coins of Roman date, see p. 172 below. In a very corrupt fr. 213A, Sappho's name is repeatedly mentioned and spelled with an initial "sigma," but the name in this fragment probably belongs to the commentaries between the verses rather than to poems.

[2] Zuntz 1951:12–35, see also the summary of the other proposed etymologies by different commentators in this article. Podlecki (1984:84) has suggested that there may be a link between Sappho's family and Naucratis since the name "Sapph-" occurs as the inscription on an early potsherd found there, but does not give any references. According to Zuntz, the name Sappho (Σαπφω, Σαφφω) is found in many inscriptions and seems to have been quite common in Asia Minor, at least in the Alexandrian and Roman period.

[3] Fr. 5 L.-P. (POxy 7 + 2289.6). The fragments are referred to (if not stated otherwise) by Lobel & Page enumeration (1955) in this chapter. Translations are from Campbell (1982) or my own. Charaxus is mentioned also in 213A(b) Χαραξ[, (c) Χα]ρ̣αξο̣[, cf. comment. *ad loc.* (d) Χάρα]|ξ̣ον, (e) Χαρ]άξου̣[and Χαρα[ξ-. More about Sappho's brothers is in p. 175.

> *(Cypris and) Nereids, grant that my brother arrive here unharmed and that everything he wishes in his heart be fulfilled, and grant too that he atone for all his past mistakes and be a joy to his friends and a bane to his enemies, and may no one ever again be a grief to us; grant that he may be willing to bring honour to his sister …*

According to a corrupt POxy 2506, Sappho seems to have written at least one more poem about her brothers.[4] She mentions (her) mother in one fragment, and a daughter Cleis in two fragments.[5] In a corrupt fragment she(?) complains about (her) old age, and is confident that through her poetry she will be remembered forever.[6]

Other names found in Sappho's published fragments are actually mostly emendations and suggestions made by modern commentators in very fragmentary papyri which could be read in different ways. In fragment 96, for example, ἀϱι-/γνώτα cαι has been read as a name Arignota and as an adjective "far-famed" or "infamous".[7] The commentators have taken the names from tradition, and this, in turn, has influenced the interpretation of the poems. However, the names possibly mentioned in Sappho's extant poetry are Doricha the mistress of her brother; (Sappho's companions) Anactoria, Atthis, Mnasidica, Gyrinno, Irana, Dica, Gongyla, perhaps also Abanthis, Mica, Arignota, Megara, Cydro; and (her rivals?) Andromeda, Gorgo, and Archeanassa (or Pleistodica).[8]

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[4] POxy 2506 fr. 48, col. iii.(f) 44–45: cαπφω[ ]ι πεϱὶ τῶν[ ] ἀδελ[/ φῶν ε̣[ ]ωδητιν[ ]. οcε.

[5] Mother in fr. 98(a): …].ϑος· ἀ γάϱ με γέννα[τ. In fr. 102 somebody's "sweet mother" is mentioned. Daughter in frr. 98(b), 132. Fr. 150 is reported to have been written to the daughter.

[6] Old age: fr. 58 (but see the "Tithonus" poem published by West 2005a and 2005b), cf. frs. 121, 21, 24(a). See also *Incertum* … fr. 18 L-P [Lobel-Page] with Blass' emendation (see Campbell 1982:448 *ad loc.*). Everlasting fame: frr. 147, 193, cf. fr. 65.

[7] PBerol 9722 fol. 5.5. Schubart & Wilamowitz (1907:16) read it as a name, Lobel and Page (1955), and Campbell (1982) as an adjective. Other extreme examples are Megara(?) in 96 (POxy 1787 fr. 7.22)]. α[…]α[(Grenfell & Hunt), which has been read as]μεγαϱα.[ν̣α[…]α[(Lobel, followed by Voigt); Cydro in 19 (POxy 1231 fr. 2, line 11) where]απικυδ[has been suggested to contain Κυδ[ϱ- (West); and Gorgo in 144 if κεκοϱημένου στόϱγος (cod.) is read as 'μάλα δὴ' κεκοϱημένοις Γόϱγως (Toup). Also fr. 29]ν̣τε … γ.ι (POxy 2166(a)4B) as]ν̣τε Γ̣ό̣ϱ̣γο̣ι (Lobel, followed by Campbell, Voigt), fr. 103 Voigt (P̣Cair Mediol. 7 col. ii.9) Γοϱγ̣[, and commentary in fr. 213.5]η̣ι̣γ̣[.]ϱ̣γ̣οι cυνζυξ.ε[(POxy 2292.5) as τ]ῆ̣ι̣ Γ̣[ο]ϱ̣γ̣οῖ cύνζυξ μ̣ε- (Lobel).

[8] Doricha may be mentioned in fr. 15 (POxy 1231 fr. 1 col. i.1–12 + fr. 3) Δω]ϱίχα τὸ δεύ[τ]εϱον ὠς πόϑε[ινον / [εἰ/ς] ἔϱον ἦλϑε (suppl. Hunt), and very tentatively perhaps also in 7 (POxy 2289 fr. 2) Δωϱίχ]αc.[.....].[(Lobel-Page [L-P]).

Anactoria: 16 (POxy 1231 fr. 1 col. I.27–32) Ἀνακτοϱί[ας (Hunt).

Atthis: 131 (= 130 Voigt) (in Heph. *Ench.* 7.7) Ἄτϑι; 96 (PBerol 9722 fol. 5.16) Ἄτϑιδος, and 90 Voigt (POxy 2293) Ἄτϑιδο̣ς. The MS reading "ἅτε" in fr. 49 is emended as

In a very damaged section of fr. 98(b) Sappho mentions Mytilene (which was traditionally held as her home town), but the context of the poem is not clear. She also refers to the exile of the Cleanactidae in this fragment. Another important family in Lesbos, the house of Penthilus, is mentioned in fr. 71.

There are also some references to Sappho(?) in the works ascribed to other poets of the Archaic period. First, she is mentioned in a verse:

> ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι.[9]
>
> *Violet-haired, holy, sweetly-smiling Sappho.*

Hephaestio, whose *Enchiridion* is the source for the verse, does not mention its author. Modern commentators ascribe the fragment to Alcaeus.[10]

"Ἄτθι" in standard editions, but see Parker 2006. In fragment 8 (POxy 2289 fr. 3.3)]τθι· cο.[has been read as Ἄ]τθι· σοι[(Lobel, Snell); in S 476.3 SLG α]γερωχοσατ̣[/]ανχαριεσ-σαν̣[has been read as ἀ]γέρωχος Ἄτ̣[θις /]αν χαριεσσαν̣ (214C Campbell), and in Alc. fr. 256.5 (= *incert. auct.* 31a Voigt)]θι̣δήαν κεφάλα.[Lobel has suggested Ἄ]τ̣θι̣δήαν κεφάλαν̣[.

Mnasidica: 82(a) (Heph. *Ench.* 11.5) Μνασιδίκα.

Gyrinno: 82(a) (Heph. *Ench.* 11.5) Γυρίννως ...; 29 (POxy 2166(a)1231.1.3 = fr. 29(24).3 L-P) Γ]ύριννοι (Lobel), cf. commentary in fr. 90 (POxy 2293 fr. 1(a) col. iii.15) καὶ Γυρίνν[(L-P).

Irana: 91 (Heph. *loc. cit.*) πΩἴρανα (Voigt: πω͜Εἴρανα) and fr. 135 (*ibid.* 12.2) Ὤι-ρανα (Voigt: ὦ͜Εἴρανα) (see p. 186 n. 101).

Dica: 81 (Athen. 15.674e) Δίκα.

Gongyla: 95 (PBerol 9722 fol. 4.4) Γογ᾿γυλα (Wilamowitz) and Γογγυλα̣[(Voigt), perhaps also in 22 (POxy 1231 fr. 15.2) Γο]γγύλα. [(Wilamowitz, L-P) and ...]. γυλα. (Voigt), and in 213A(a) (POxy 2506 fr. 8.4) Γογγυ̣[λ- (Page). Cf. the commentary on 213 (POxy 2292.6): τ̣ὰ τ̣[ῆc Γ]ογγύληc ὀν[ο]μασθή- /cετ[αι (Lobel).

Abanthis(?): 22 (POxy 1231 col. ii fr. 15.2) Ἄβ]α̣νθι (L-P), and in Alc. fr. 261(b) (= *incert. auct.* 25 Voigt) Ἄβανθι.

Mica(?): 71]σεμίκα (POxy 1787 fr. 6) has also been read as]μιccε Μίκα (L-P, followed by Campbell and Voigt).

Andromeda: 133(a) (Heph. *Ench.* 14.7) Ἀνδρομέδα, 131 (=130 Voigt) (*ibid.* 7.7) Ἀνδρομέδαν; and perhaps in 65 (POxy 1787 fr. 4.2) [... Ἀν]δ̣ρομε[δα (Hunt) but .....]ρομε[in LP, Campbell and Voigt), 68a (POxy 1787 fr. 7.5 Ἀν]δρομέδαν (Hunt), 213A(k) (POxy 2506(k) fr. 60.2) Ἄνδρο]μέδαν[(Page); cf. comm. in 90 (POxy 2293 fr. 1(a) col. iii.27) Ἀνδρομέ]δ̣ην (Lobel).

Archeanassa: 214 (= 103C Voigt) (POxy 2357 fr. 1.4) Ἀρ]χεάνασσα[(Lobel), cf. commentary in fr. 213 (POxy 2292.2) Ἀρχ̣εάνα[/cα (Lobel). Archeanassa may be the same person as Pleistodica, mentioned in 213.

[9] Alc. 384 ap. Heph. *Ench.* 14.4. In the manuscripts stands -μειδε σαπφοι, -μειδες σαπφοι, and Maas has read it as μελλιχόμειδες ἄπφοι (followed by Voigt). Lobel and Page have suggested also -μειδες ἄπφα, but cf. Zuntz 1951:17 and 21 n. 62.

[10] Ascribed to Alcaeus on the basis of metre by Lobel and Page (Z 61) followed by Campbell (fr. 384), Gentili 1988: 216 ff., 304 n. 1, *et al.*

Then there are two "dialogues", first between Alcaeus and Sappho, and the other between Anacreon and Sappho. Alcaeus is reported to have said:

θέλω τί τ' εἴπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει
αἴδως …

I wish to say something to you, but shame prevents me …

and Sappho replied:

αἰ δ' ἦχες ἔσλων ἴμερον ἢ κάλων
καὶ μή τί τ' εἴπην γλῶσσ' ἐκύκα κάκον,
αἴδως †κέν σε οὐκ† ἦχεν ὄππατ',
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες †περὶ τῶ δικαίω†.

But if you had a desire for what is honourable or good, and your tongue were not stirring up something evil to say, shame would not cover your eyes, but you would state your claim.[11]

The Peripatetic author Chamaeleon of Heraclea transmits the opinion of "some" that Anacreon had addressed a poem about a Lesbian girl to Sappho:

σφαίρῃ δηὖτέ με πορφυρῇ
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως
νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
συμβαίζειν προκαλεῖται·
ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰχάσκει.[12]

Once again golden-haired Love strikes me with his purple ball and summons me to play with the girl in the fancy sandals; but she—she comes from Lesbos with its fine cities—finds fault with my hair because it is white, and gapes after another—girl.[13]

and the poetess had allegedly replied with the lines:

[11] Sappho fr. 137 ap. Arist. *Rhet.* 1367a. Campbell's translation. About different readings and authorship, see Lobel 1925:55, Lobel & Page 1955:94, Page 1955:104–109, Campbell 1982:153.
[12] Anacr. 358 PMG.
[13] Campbell's translation (1988).

κεῖνον, ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες
ὕμνον, ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικος ἐσθλᾶς
Τήιος χώρας ὃν ἄειδε τερπνῶς
πρέσβυς ἀγαυός.[14]

You uttered that hymn, oh golden-throned Muse, which from the fine land of fair women the glorious old Teian man delightfully sang.[15]

2. *Ancient portraits and appearance of Sappho*

The earliest extant portrait of Sappho is on a hydria from late sixth century BC: a smiling woman named ΦΣΑΘΟ, clad in chiton and himation, is playing the *barbitos*.[16] From the Brygos Painter of Athens (*ca.* 480–470 BC) we have a stunning painting of Alcaeus and Sappho on a psykter found in Agrigentum. The poets are both standing, Alcaeus (inscribed Ἀλκαῖος) is wearing chiton and headband and is playing a *barbitos* using a plectrum. Sappho (inscribed Σαφό), wearing chiton and himation, and a fillet in her long hair, holding a barbitos in one hand and plectrum in the other hand, is looking at him with somewhat surprised expression.[17] The fact that she is represented here together with Alcaeus implies that the Athenian painter believed them to be contemporaries, fellow-citizens, or connected in some other way.

On another vase whose painting recalls, according to Beazley, the "Hector Painter" (440–430 BC), a woman, inscribed Σαπφώ, is sitting on a chair and reading a scroll. Three young women (friends? The Muses?), standing around her are looking at her. One of them (right of Sappho) is holding a lyre.[18]

On a large mosaic of Roman period found in Sparta, Sappho (inscribed as CΑΦΦΩ) is depicted in front view, wearing chiton, himation and headband,[19] and Pollux (2nd c. AD) reports Mytilenean coins on which Sappho's portrait was engraved and indeed, coins of the first, second and third century AD, on which the poetess is depicted, sometimes holding

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[14] Adesp. 953 PMG.

[15] Chamael. fr. 26 Wehrli, ap. Athen. 13.599c. Campbell's translation. The authorship of Sappho's poem to Anacreon was denied by Athenaeus (13.599d), and the fragment is published as *adespoton* in 953 PMG.

[16] Hydria in Goluchow, Poland. See Richter 1965:I.71, fig. 263; Beazley 1928:8–10.

[17] Munich 2416. Richter 1965:71, fig. 252; West 1992 pl. 19.

[18] Hydria in the National Museum, Athens, 1260. Richter 1965:71, fig. 262; Beazley 1928:9 n. 2.

[19] Richter 1965:71, 1984:196; Megaw 1964:8 and fig. 7.

the lyre, sometimes in bust have been found from Mytilene and Eresus. On some of them her name is engraved next to the picture of her.[20]

Cicero reports that a bronze statue of Sappho by Silanion (4th c. BC) stood in the prytaneum at Syracuse in Sicily, until Verres carried it off.[21] Neither the statue nor the description of what it looked like is extant. Another lost statue at Pergamon of Roman date carried an inscription attributed to Antipater of Thessalonica (1st BC/1st AD):

> οὔνομά μευ Σαπφώ. τόσσον δ' ὑπερέσχον ἀοιδὰν
> θηλειᾶν, ἀνδρῶν ὅσσον ὁ Μαιονίδας.
>
> *My name is Sappho. I surpassed all women in song as much as Maeonides* (Homer) *surpassed men.*[22]

On all the extant portraits Sappho is remarkably beautiful. This agrees with the widespread tradition that she was a very attractive woman indeed. Plato, too, calls her "beautiful Sappho," and the Hellenistic poet Hermesianax says that her beauty was supreme among the many women of Lesbos.[23] On the other hand, there was a strand of tradition, that she was rather ugly, dark, short and small, "like a nightingale with deformed wings enfolding a tiny body."[24] This belief appears in the sources of late fourth century BC, and its origin lies probably in Athenian comedy.[25] Maximus of Tyre brings the two opinions together suggesting that Plato (or Socrates) called her beautiful because of the beauty of her verses and not because of her looks.[26]

3. *Sappho's home and family*

The first extant external reference to the poetess' home town comes from Herodotus who says that Sappho's brother Charaxus (and therefore also Sappho) came from Mytilene on Lesbos.[27] Aristotle agrees with

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[20] Poll. 9.84. Richter 1965:70; Bernoulli 1901:I.62 ff. with the Münztafel I:16–20.

[21] Cic. *Verr. orat.* 4.57.125–127.

[22] Antip. Thess. fr. 73 Gow-Page ap. *Anth. Pal.* 7.15, CIG 3555; cf. Richter 1965:71. About the authorship of the epigram, see Gabathuler 1937:35, and Gow & Page HE:31 f., 42.

[23] Pl. *Phaedr.* 235c, Hermesian. fr. 2.47–52. Cf. also Max. Tyr. 18.7 Trapp, Athen. 10.425a, Ael. *VH* 12.19, Iulian. *Epist.* 10 (403CD), Damocharis in *Anth. Plan.* 310.

[24] Chamael.(?) in POxy 1800 fr. 1, Ov. *Ep.* (*Her.*) 15.31–40, Max. Tyr. 18.7 Trapp, schol. Luc. *Imag.* 18.

[25] Burn 1960:227, Campbell 1967:261, Dörrie 1975:17, Parker 1993:311.

[26] Max. Tyr. 18.7 Trapp.

[27] Hdt. 2.135.

Herodotus and reports that the Mytileneans held Sappho in great honour because of her wisdom and despite the fact that she was a woman.[28] The tradition of Mytilene as Sappho's home town continued to be strong throughout antiquity: it is mentioned by the *Marmor Parium*, the Hellenistic epigrammatist Nossis, in the *Lament for Bion* by [Moschus], by Tullius Laurea, Strabo, Pollux, and others.[29]

Another town which claimed to be the home of Sappho was Eresus, mentioned by Dioscorides and Suda.[30] Nymphodorus the historian, rationalizing the tradition, links Eresus with "the second Sappho," a courtesan.[31]

Thus, the tradition about Mytilene as Sappho's home town is attested in the Classical sources, and may well be a historical fact known to biographers since Sappho's life-time. The tradition about Eresus had developed by the second part of the third century BC at latest, possibly in connection with the formation of the tradition of the "second Sappho."

Sappho's parents

Sappho does not mention her father in the extant verses. The earliest source for his name is Herodotus who says that Sappho's father was called Scamandronymus ("named after Scamander").[32] A papyrus of late second or early third century AD reports of two opinions: "some" believed that Sappho's father was called Scamander, and "others" Scamandrony-

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28 Arist. *Rhet.* 1398b.

29 *Marmor* Ep. 36; Nossis in *Anth. Pal.* 7.718; [Moschus] *Epit. Bion.* 86 f.; Tull. Laur. 1 Gentili-Prato; Str. 13.2.3 (617); Pollux 9.84. Also Damocharis in *Anth. Plan.* 310; in the schol. Pind. εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα λυρικούς (p. 10 f. Dr.), and in the schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* 235c. The Suda makes Mytilene a home town of the "second Sappho," a courtesan (s.v Σαπφώ[2]). About the tradition of the "second Sappho," see p. 190.

30 Dioscor. 18 Gow-Page; Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1]. In 13.2.4 (618) Strabo mentions two other famous Eresians, the Peripathetic philosophers Theophrastus and Phaenias, but not Sappho. This concurs with his claim in 13.2.3(617) that Sappho, along with Alcaeus and Pittacus, lived in Mytilene.

31 Nymphod. 572 F *6, ap. Athen. 13.596e. The manuscript reading for the source referred to by Athenaeus is νύμφις ἐν περίπλῳ ἀσίας, but the author of the *Voyage around Asia* is named as Nymphodorus in Athen. 13.609e, cf. 6.265cd, 7.322a, 4.331e. See Jacoby's commentary *ad loc.*

32 Hdt. 2.135. Scamander is a river in Troas (either Menderes or Neretva) and, in mythology, the son of Oceanus and Tethys (Hes. *Th.* 337–345). According to Apollodorus (*Bibl.* 3.12.1–3), Scamander the river was the father of Teucer the ancestor of the Trojan kings, and later also the father of the two Trojan queens, of Callirhoe the wife of Tros, and of Strymo the wife of Laomedon.

mus.[33] This information may perhaps come from Chamaeleon (4th c. BC) who is mentioned in the papyrus as one of its sources. Aelian repeats the information saying that Sappho was a daughter of Scamandronymus, and the Suda provides a long list of his possible names: Simon, Eunomius (or Eumenus), Eerigyus (Erigyius), Ecrytus, Semus, Camon, Etarchus, and Scamandronymus.[34] The scholium on Pindar mentions Eurygyus as her father alongside her mother Cleis.[35] The above mentioned POxy 1800 too refers to Sappho's mother, saying that the poetess' daughter Cleis was named after her..[36] The Suda records simply: "Σαπφώ / … / μητρὸς δὲ Κλειδός."[37] No other name for her is recorded. The ancient authors may have taken her name from some local Lesbian record, or perhaps, from a poem in which Sappho explicitly mentioned Cleis as her (or the narrator's) mother. On the other hand, her name may have been derived from the name of Sappho's daughter Cleis, in a kind of reverse process of a common practice of naming a child after his or her grandparent.

Sappho's brothers, and Doricha

Tradition says that Sappho had three brothers, Larichus, Erigyius (Eurygius)[38] and Charaxus. Only the latter is mentioned in Sappho's extant fragments.[39] According to Athenaeus, Sappho frequently praised Larichus who was a wine-pourer in the prytaneum of Mytilene, a job which was done by handsome young noblemen.[40] Suda lists all three brothers, Larichus, Charaxus, and Eurygius.[41] Also POxy 1800 agrees that the poetess had three brothers and probably also mentions their names. Unfortunately the state of the papyrus allows us to identify only Charaxus and Larichus with any certainty. The third name, of which only one letter has survived, is restored as Erigyius on the basis of tradition.[42]

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33 POxy. 1800 fr. 1 = Chamael. fr. 27 Wehrli, if Hunt's emendation is correct: [πατρὸς δὲ Σκαμ]άνδρου, κα[τὰ δέ τινας Σκα]μανδρωνύ[μου·.

34 Ael. *VH* 12.19. Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].

35 Schol. in Pi. εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα λυρικούς (p. 10f. Dr.): Σαπφὼ Κληῖδος καὶ πατρὸς Εὐρυγύου … .

36 POxy. 1800 fr. 1: θυγατέρα δ' ἔσχε Κλεῗν ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτῆς μητ̣ρ̣ί

37 Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].

38 The manuscript readings in the Suda are Ἠερηγύου and Εὐριγύου, emended into Ἐρυγίου Hemst., Ἐριγύου Schone and Ἠεριγύου Adler. See Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1] Adler.

39 Frr. 5 and 213A, see p. 168 n. 3.

40 Sappho fr. 203 (ap. Athen. 10.425a) with a schol. T *Il.* 20.234.

41 Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].

42 POxy. 1800 fr. 1: … ἀδελφοὺς δ'] ἔσχε τρεῖς, [Ἐρ]ι̣[γυιον καὶ Λά]ριχον, πρεσ-

Herodotus mentions Charaxus in connection with Rhodopis, a famous courtesan. He says that Rhodopis, Thracian by birth, was, together with the fable-writer Aesop, a slave to Iadmon of Samos. She was taken to Naucratis in Egypt by another Samian, Xanthes, and was there bought at a great price and given freedom by Charaxus,—a deed for which he was bitterly rebuked by his sister when he had returned to Mytilene (without Rhodopis). Rhodopis, now free, continued in her profession and grew wealthy so that she was able to make a signifcant offering of iron ox-spits to Delphi, and was even believed by some Greeks to have built a pyramid to the pharaoh Mycerinus, son of Cheops.[43] Herodotus himself, however, does not agree with these Greeks, arguing that, first, as a courtesan Rhodopis could never have been rich enough to build a pyramid, and secondly, that she lived much later, at the time of the pharaoh Amasis.[44] The offering of ox-spits by Rhodopis was, according to Athenaeus, mentioned also by Cratinus (5th c. BC) in some of his lost works.[45]

Rhodopis is usually identified as Doricha, mentioned in some of Sappho's fragments.[46] Not always, however: Athenaeus, for example, reproached Herodotus for not understanding that Doricha was not the same woman who dedicated the spits at Delphi, i.e. Rhodopis dedicated the spits, but the lover of Charaxus was Doricha.[47] The early third century BC epigrammatist Posidippus of Pella calls the mistress of Charaxus Doricha in an epigram to her (imaginary) tomb in Naucratis, and Apellas Ponticus (3rd c. BC) seems to have believed that a pyramid in Egypt was built in honour of Rhodopis.[48] Strabo, reporting of the pyramids of Egypt, explains that one of them, smaller but more expensive as made

βύ[τατον δὲ Χάρ]αξον, ὃς πλεύσας ε[ἰς Αἴγυπτον] Δωρίχα̣ τινι προσο̣[μιλητ]η̣ς κατεδαπάνησεν εἰς ταύτην πλεῖστα. τὸν δὲ Λάριχον ⟨νέον⟩ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἠγάπησεν (suppl. Hunt). Erigyius is also read into a very fragmentary piece of POxy. 2506 fr. 48, col. III, v. 36–48: Ἐρι/-] / γυιος (suppl. Page, followed by Campbell (T14) and Voigt (213A.h)).

[43] Hdt. 2.134–135.

[44] Hdt. 2.134.

[45] Cratin. fr. 369 K.-A. ap. Athen. 13.596b.

[46] See p. 169 n. 8. It has sometimes been suggested that Rhodopis ("Rosie") may have been a professional name or nickname for Doricha, see Page 1955:49n. 1, Campbell 1982:15.

[47] Athen. 13.596b.

[48] Posid. 17 Gow-Page ap. Athen. 13.596c. Posidippus is also reported to have referred to Doricha many times in his *Aesopeia* (Athen. *loc. cit.*), Apellas 266 F 8 ap. Suda s.v. Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα. Suda referes to Herodotus in connection with Apellas' account but in Herodotus (2.134) the pyramid was built, as told by "some Greeks," in honour of Mycerinus at Rhodopis' expense.

of Ethiopian black stone, was believed to have been built by the lovers of a courtesan sometimes called Rhodopis, but to Sappho known as Doricha, the mistress of the poetess' brother Charaxus when he once, being engaged in wine-business, visited Naucratis.[49] Strabo continues with a Cinderella-story about Rhodopis/Doricha: according to "some," once when Doricha was bathing, an eagle snatched her sandal, carried it to Memphis, where the king was judging cases in the open air, and dropped it into the king's lap. The king, amazed by the beauty of the shoe and by the action of the bird, ordered his servants to find a woman who owned the sandal, and when she was brought to Memphis, he married her. Later, when she died, she was honoured with the above-mentioned pyramid.[50] Aelian repeats the story, and identifies the Egyptian king as Psammetichus.[51] In Ovid's *Sappho to Phaon* the poetess is made to complain about Charaxus, her impoverished brother who, captured by love of a courtesan spent too much money on her, and now, "reduced to poverty he roams the dark seas, and wealth he lost by evil means he now seeks by evil means,"—perhaps referring to Charaxus' new activity as a pirate?[52] Hesychius simply states that Rhodopis belonged in Sappho's family.[53] Finally, the Suda broadly repeats Herodotus' account of Doricha the Thracian who became a slave to Iadmon, and worked as a courtesan until Charaxus ransomed and married her, and had children by her. At some point in her life, according to the Suda, she gave the offering of spits to Delphi, and a pyramid in Egypt was built in her honour.[54]

Thus, Charaxus and the story of his and Rhodopis/Doricha's love was known by the beginning of the fifth century, and proved to be very persistent, being retold with variations by many authors all through antiquity. It was at least partly based on Sappho's poetry. The story functions as an *aition*, explaining the existence of certain ox-spits in Delphi in the 5th century and giving an account of the 'history' of a temple in Egypt.

[49] Str. 17.1.33 (808).

[50] Str. *ibid.*

[51] Ael. *VH* 13.33.

[52] Ov. *Ep.* (*Her.*) 15.63–70: *arsit inops frater meretricis captus amore / mixtaque cum turpi damna pudore tulit. / factus inops agili peragit freta caerula remo, / quasque male amisit, nunc male quaerit opes*, cf. vv. 117–120. See Campbell 1982:16.

[53] Hesych. s.v. Ῥοδῶπις.

[54] Suda, the headwords Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα (Photius gives the same text under the same headword), Αἴσωπος, Ἰαδμων and Χάραξος. Under the Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα the name of the owner of Doricha before Charaxus freed her, is spelled Ἄδμων.

Sappho's husband and daughter

Sappho's husband, Cercylas or Cercolas, mentioned only in the Suda, was believed to have been a very wealthy man from Andros. He and Sappho had, according to tradition, a daughter called Cleis.[55] The name of the husband, Cercylas of Andros, "Prick of (the isle) of Man" probably belongs in comic context.[56]

On the basis of the sources referred to above, it seems that ancient authors believed Sappho to have belonged to an influential and wealthy family: her father bears a significant name linked to the important hero/river of Troas, one of her brothers had the honour to pour wine at the prytaneum, the other had means to ransom a famous courtesan; Sappho herself was married to a rich foreigner. Furthermore, when she (or the whole family) was important enough to be sent to exile, they chose Syracuse as a destination of their exile perhaps because they had connections with the people in power there, and above all, she had enough spare time to compose poetry in peace and quiet (and the topics of her verses are love and festivals, instead of weaving, cooking and other such matters). Modern commentators in general share the view of Sappho's aristocratic origin.[57]

The names of Sappho's parents (Scamandronymus and Cleis) and her brothers are another detail which many modern commentators have readily accepted as historically true, in some cases even without supportive reference in Sappho's own verses.[58] Podlecki has suggested that Sappho's ancestor, perhaps her grandfather, might have earned distinction in the fighting around Troy's major river Scamander.[59] Ramsay points out that the word Σkam in Skam-andros is of eastern derivation mean-

[55] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1]: ἐγαμήθη δὲ ἀνδρὶ Κερκύλᾳ (or Κερκώλᾳ) πλουσιωτάτῳ, ὁρμωμένῳ ἀπὸ Ἄνδρου, καὶ θυγατέρα ἐποιήσατο ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἣ Κλεῒς ὠνομάσθη.

[56] Wilamowitz 1913:24, Treu in RE Suppl. XI s.v. *Sappho*, Dörrie 1975:18, Campbell 1982:5, Parker 1993:309, Vandiver in SOL ad s.v. Σαπφώ; but see Aly in RE s.v. *Sappho*, Bowra 1961:176, Campbell 1967:261, Bauer 1963:9, *et al.* Cf. also Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 239.

[57] Cf. Page 1955:131 n. 2, Burn 1960:227, Bowra 1961:176, Bauer 1963:6–10, Campbell 1967:261, Kirkwood 1974:100f., Burnett 1983:209, Podlecki 1984:83, Gerber 1997:156, Hutchinson 2001:143. Gomme, however, does not agree, regarding Charaxus' activity as a businessman as not suitable to a nobleman (1957:259).

[58] Cf. Schmid-Stählin 1929:417, Aly in RE s.v. *Sappho*, Smith in DGRBM s.v. *Sappho*, Burn 1960:227, Reinach-Puech 1960:164f., Bowra 1961:176, Campbell 1967:260f., Podlecki 1984:83, but cf. Dörrie 1975:10.

[59] Podlecki 1984:83. Cf. the long dispute over Sigeum in Troad between Athens and Mytilene, in which also Alcaeus was involved (Hdt. 5.94–95). See also *Il.* 5.49 where

ing "earth" (Skt. *ksham*, Gr. χθών), giving thus some support to the proposal that Sappho and her name have non-Greek origin.[60] Also Bauer has placed Sappho's family among influential immigrants.[61] The information about the names of the family members of such an important poet as Sappho, especially if the family held a high position in society, was probably preserved in local tradition. On the other hand, having important parents or ancestors, or a parent with a significant name, is a commonplace in the traditions of poets but it is not easy to see why the particular names for Sappho's family would have been invented.

4. *Sappho and Phaon, her exile and death*

There are two stories connecting Sappho with the western parts of the Greek world: the story of her death in Leucadia, and the account of her exile in Sicily.[62] According to the former tale, Sappho fell in love with a handsome young Phaon of Mytilene, and as her love remained unanswered, she drowned herself leaping from the Leucadian cliff.[63] Two other stories lie in the background of this account. First, the story of Phaon. According to this, Phaon was a good-hearted elderly ferryman on Lesbos who accepted money only from the rich. One day Aphrodite, disguised as an old woman, came to him and wished to cross the strait. Phaon quickly carried her over and asked for nothing. In return Aphrodite gave him an alabaster box which contained myrrh.[64] When Phaon rubbed it on,

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Menelaus kills the Trojan hero Scamandrius son of Strophius, and 6.402: Hector's son Scamandrius/Astyanax.

[60] Ramsay 1904:286. See p. 168 above, and Zuntz 1951:22 n. 68.

[61] Bauer 1963:6–10.

[62] Death: Menand. *Leuc.* fr. 1 K.-A. (cit. in n. 72), Nymphod. 527 F *6, Ov. *Ep.* (*Her.*) 15 *passim*, Auson. 19.23, 8.22–25, Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[2] (the only source which explicitly says that Sappho died in consequence of her leap), and s.v. Φάων, cf. also Mart. *Ep.* 10.35, Luc. Ampel. 8.4, Ps.-Palaeph. in *Myth. Gr.* iii.2.69 Festa.

The exile: *Marmor* Ep. 36: ἀφ' οὗ Σαπφὼ ἐγ Μιτυλήνης εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε, φυγοῦσα[* * ἔτη ΗΗΗΔΔΔ * ἄρχο]ντος Ἀθήνησιν μὲν Κριτίου τοῦ προτέρου, ἐν Συρακούσσαις δὲ τῶν γαμόρων κατεχόντων τὴν ἀρχήν (suppl. Jacoby 1904a:12, 165).

[63] Pliny (*NH* 22.20) adds that the poetess fell in love with Phaon under the influence of the root of sea-holly, a rarely-found aphrodisiac: *portentosum est quod de ea* [*sc. erynge*] *traditur, radicem eius alterutrius sexus similitudinem referre, raro inventu, set si viris contigerit mas, amabilis fieri; ob hoc et Phaonem Lesbium dilectum a Sappho.*

[64] Cf. the myth, according to which Adonis' mother was Smyrna or Myrrha ("myrrh") who was turned into myrrh-tree (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.4 with Frazer's commentaries *ad loc.*).

he was transformed into a most handsome young man. Many women of Lesbos fell in love with him, among them Sappho, but in the end he was caught committing adultery and was executed.[65]

The other story is an old aetiological legend of Adonis, transmitted as a whole by Ptolemaeus Chennus (*ca.* 100 AD) in Photius' *Library*, but referred to already by Anacreon, Stesichorus, Euripides and Praxilla.[66] According to it, Aphrodite was looking for her lover Adonis who was killed by a boar, and found his body in the temple of Apollo Erithius on Cyprus. The grieving goddess told Apollo about her love for the dead youth. Apollo took her to a cliff on Leucas, and said that if she wanted to overcome her grief she had to throw herself from the cliff. Aphrodite followed his advice and was healed of love. The astonished goddess asked Apollo how it could happen, and he explained that, being a seer, he knew that every time Zeus falls in love with Hera, he comes to this place and is cured.[67]

Phaon and Adonis do not have much in common in the extant versions of these stories apart from being connected with Aphrodite. Perhaps there existed other variants that linked the figures of the legends.[68] Ancient authors, in fact, did sometimes confuse one with the other. According to Callimachus, Eubulus, and allegedly also Sappho herself, the dead Adonis was, for some reason or other, hidden among lettuces by Aphrodite, while Cratinus said that it was Phaon whom Aphrodite loved

[65] Ael. *VH* 12.18, Servius in Verg. *Aen.* 3.279, Ps.-Palaeph. in *Myth. Gr.* iii.2.69 Festa, Suda s.v. Φάων (on a proverb which was used of those who are both lovely and disdainful). Stat. *Silv.* (5.3.154 f.) placed the story in Calchis (or Chalcis, see p. 183 n. 83 below). Cf. Wilamowitz 1913:28; and Lucian (*Nav.* 43, *Nec.* 361) in Chios; Ovid (*Her.* 15.51 f.) linked Phaon with Sicily. About localizing the myth, see Dörrie 1975:33–36.

[66] Phot. *Bibl.* 153a, Anacr. 376 PMG, Stes. 277 PMG, Eur. *Cycl.*166 f., Prax. 747 PMG.

[67] Strabo says (10.2.9 [452]) that, for the sake of averting evil, the Leucadians had an old custom at an annual sacrifice in honour of Apollo to throw from the cliff a criminal to whom they had previously fastened feathers and birds of all kinds which by their fluttering might lighten his fall. A number of men were waiting below in small fishing-boats to pick the scapegoat up (if he survived) and to take him outside their borders. In a version told by Servius, the people were hired once a year to throw themselves from the cliff into the sea (in Verg. *Aen.* 3.279). See also the myth of Cephalus who leapt from the cliffs driven by love for Pterelas son of Deioneus (Str. 10.2.9 [452]). According to Apollodorus, Cephalus was the ancestor of Adonis (*Bibl.* 3.14.3).

[68] Phaon has been regarded as a mythical double of Adonis and the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis/Phaon as a double of the myth of Eos and Phaethon (Gerber 1997:158 n. 11, Nagy 1973:137–177), see also Williamson 1995:8, Robinson 1924:40, and Kirkwood 1974:101 f. Dörrie does not share their view, see 1975:29 f.

and who was laid out among the lettuces.[69] Although we have no extant verse where Sappho mentions Phaon, she is reported to have often sung about her love for him.[70] Adonis is referred to in her fragments (140a, 168).[71] The first known author to link the stories of Phaon and the Leucadian Leap with Sappho is Menander in his comedy *Leucadia*.[72] Since there were several other comedies in which the story might have been told, it is mostly believed that the fourth-century Athenian comic poets are responsible for having created, on the basis of Sappho's poems, the story of Sappho's love for Phaon and her leap to death from the Leucadian cliff.[73] This may well be true, although on the basis of extant material it is not possible to prove the exact time when the story of Sappho, Phaon and the Leucadian Leap was formed. Menander, at least, seems to refer to it as a well known legend. All we can say is that the story of Sappho's death must have been formed according to an excellently suitable story-pattern of a poet(ess)' rather romantic death provided by the legends of Aphrodite, Adonis and Phaon, some time before Menander, i.e. before the end of the fourth century.

There are several hints of old age in Sappho's extant verses, which would provide an excellent basis for the tradition that the poetess lived a long life.[74] It would fit perfectly well into the general story-pattern of the life of poets, who as well as with philosophers and seers, were usually

[69] Callim. fr. 478 Pf., Eubulus fr. 13 K.-A., Sappho fr. 211(b)iii ap. Natalis Comes *Myth.* 5.16; Cratin. fr. 370 K.-A., cf. Ael. *VH* 12.18.

[70] Ps.-Palaeph. in *Myth. Gr.* iii.2.69 Festa. He may have, however, taken this information from tradition without ever seeing the poems of Phaon by Sappho.

[71] Also in Sappho or Alcaeus fr. 24(b), and tentatively also in Sappho fr. 96.23 in which ἀ[. . .].νίδηον is supplied as ἀ[. ἀδ]ωνίδηον by Edmonds (1928:434, fr. 86A.) Cf. Dioscorides who says that Sappho is lamenting with Aphrodite as she mourns the death of Adonis (fr. 18 Gow-Page).

[72] Menand. Λευκαδία fr. 1 K.-A.:

> οὗ δὴ λέγεται πρώτη Σαπφὼ
> τὸν ὑπέρκομπον θηρῶσα Φάων'
> οἰστρῶντι πόθῳ ῥῖψαι πέτρας
> ἀπὸ τηλεφανοῦς· ἀλλὰ κατ' εὐχὴν
> σήν, δέσποτ' ἄναξ, εὐφημείσθω
> τέμενος πέρι Λευκάδος ἀκτῆς.

[73] Comedies titled Φάων are known by Antiphanes (fr. 213 K.-A.) and Plato the comedy-writer (188–198 K.-A.); Λευκαδία or Λευκάδιος by Alexis (135–137 K.-A.), Amphis (26 K.-A.), Antiphanes (139 K.-A.), and Diphilus (52 K.-A.). See Wilamowitz 1913:25–43, DGRBM and RE s.v. *Sappho*, Schmid-Stählin 1929:422, Bowra 1961:177, Treu 1968:149 f., Nagy 1973:137–177, Kirkwood 1974:101 f., Dörrie 1975:32, Williamson 1995:7–9, Gerber 1997:158 f., *et al.*

[74] See the references in p. 169 n. 6.

believed to have lived long. In Sappho's case, however, the hints in poems were not developed any further. We have no ancient account of her doings in her later life. It may be that the story of Phaon and the poetess' unhappy love affair which led her to commit suicide suppressed the development of the detail of Sappho's old age in tradition.

Sappho's exile is another detail in tradition that modern commentators are prepared to accept as a historical fact.[75] It is explicitly mentioned, however, only in one source: according to the *Marmor Parium*, the poetess was banished from Mytilene and she sailed to Sicily at the time when the wealthy landowners (γαμόϱοι) held power in Syracuse.[76] In addition it is known that there was a sculpture of Sappho at Syracuse up to the time of Cicero (which may, however, have been set up there in any time between the seventh and first century BC).[77] Another detail in Sappho's tradition which may point to her being at Syracuse is her synchronization with Stesichorus the Sicilian.[78] Sappho's banishment (if it ever happened) was probably caused by political reasons.[79] It would mean that Sappho's family took an active part in politics on Lesbos, which, again, supports the view that they held a significant position in society. We do not know, however, on whose side they might have been. Usually it is thought that Sappho was on the same side with Alcaeus and they both were exiled with other members of rebellious families by Myrsilus the Cleanactid when he came to power.[80] Bauer, on the other hand, has proposed that Sappho and Pittacus, with their families, were immigrants, the κακοπάτϱιδαι mentioned in Alcaeus fr. 67 L.-P., against whom Alcaeus, who belonged to the "old" nobility, turned in the fight for power in Mytilene.[81] He suggests that when the Cleanactidae were defeated by Alcaeus' faction at the time when Pittacus was engaged in the war for Sigeum, Sappho and her family had to go to exile with

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[75] See Aly in RE sv. *Sappho*, Schmid-Stählin 1929:417, Burn 1960:243, Reinach and Puech 1960:167 f., Bowra 1961:177, Campbell 1967:261, Kirkwood 1974:100, Dörrie 1975:13 f., Podlecki 1984:83,—but cf. Page 1955:131, and Treu in RE Suppl. 11 s.v. *Sappho*.

[76] *Marmor* Ep. 36, *cit.* in p. 179 n. 62. About the γαμόϱοι, Hdt. 7.155.

[77] See p. 173 n. 21.

[78] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].

[79] Althought the *Marmor* does not state the reason of her exile, it would most probably have been political banishment as in the case of the poetess' contemporary and fellow islander Alcaeus.

[80] For example, Page 1955:102.

[81] Bauer 1963:8 f. He supports his claim that Sappho belonged among immigrants by Sappho's and her father's non-Greek name, Sappho's dark non-Greek(?) appearance, and her husband who came from Andros. See also Saake 1972:37–50.

the Cleanactids, and returned when Pittacus came to power.[82] There is nothing in Sappho's fragments and her biographical tradition which would give any evidence about Sappho's political views, or explain the reason of her exile. The account of Sappho's stay on Sicily may have, however, helped to connect her with Leucas, an island on the ship-route to Italy.[83] Rather surprisingly, there is no account of Sappho's tomb on Lesbos. It may be explained by the belief that she died far from home, or was lost in the sea after her leap from Leucas or some local White Cliff on Lesbos; or that the tradition that she died in a foreign land developed fairly early and become strong enough to cause her real grave to sink into oblivion, and to prevent the establishment of a fake tomb of hers.[84]

5. *Sappho's reputation, circle, and rivals*

Sappho held a twofold reputation in antiquity: on the one hand she was regarded as the best and the most brilliant female poet, equal to the Muses, but on the other hand she was mocked and reproached as the model of a frivolous married woman who had many, both male and female, lovers.

Plato mentions Sappho among "ancient wise men and women."[85] His respect towards the poetess was shared by Aristotle, and Dioscorides who in addition to calling the poetess the companion of Aphrodite, is the first of the long line of authors who placed Sappho among the Muses.[86] Several authors have listed her among famous people: Antipater of Thessalonica mentions Sappho among the famous poetesses Praxilla, Moero, Anyte,

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82 Bauer 1963:8–10.

83 In the manuscript of Statius' *Silvae* (5.3.154f.), the place where Sappho "took the manly leap" is Calchis, which may stand for Chalcis as suggested by Bücheler (see Wilamowitz 1913:28). Dörrie (1975:33–42) argues that the "White Cliffs" is a metaphor not linked to any specific place. Sappho's leap is, however, clearly located on the Leucadian coast in tradition.

84 Robinson (1924:38) transmits (with no reference) a report by the 17th century priest and traveller Edward Pococke that Sappho's sepulchral urn was once kept in the Turkish mosque on the castle of Mytilene. There are only three Hellenistic and Roman literary epitaphs for Sappho, by Antipater of Sidon (11 Gow-Page ap. *Anth. Pal.* 9.66), Tullius Laurea (1 Gentili-Prato ap. *Anth. Pal.* 7.17), and Pinytus (*Anth. Pal.* 7.16).

85 Pl. *Phaedr.* 235c.

86 Arist. *Rhet.* 1398b, Dioscor. 18 Gow-Page; cf. [Plato] 13 FGE, Antipater of Sidon (11, 12 Gow-Page), Tullius Laurea (*Anth. Pal.* 7.17), Plutarch (*Amat.* 18), Damocharis (*Anth. Plan.* 310), and Christodorus (*Anth. Pal.* 2.69.71), who all call her either the tenth Muse, the mortal Muse, or compare her with the Muses in some other way.

Erinna, Telesilla, Corinna, and Nossis; Dio Chrysostom with Rhodogyne the warrior-princess, Semiramis the queen, Timandra "the beautiful," and Demonassa the law-giver.[87] The scholiast on Aeschylus' *Persians* does not limit the list only to remarkable women but includes famous Lesbians such as the severed head of Orpheus(!), Arion, Pittacus, and Alcaeus.[88] Strabo calls her simply the best poetess, and Ovid states that although Sappho was small and ugly she was wise and had a name which "fills the world."[89] Pinytus claims Sappho's wise words to be immortal,[90] Lucian calls her "the delicious glory of the Lesbians" and sets her up as a paragon for "ladies of culture and learning."[91] Galen compares Sappho with Homer: "You have only to say the Poet and the Poetess, and everyone knows you mean Homer and Sappho."[92] And finally, Aelian relates a famous legend of how Solon, when his nephew sang a song of Sappho's, liked it so much that he asked the boy to teach it to him; and when someone asked why, he replied, "So that I may learn it and die."[93] It is clear from the references above that Sappho was held in high esteem. This, however, did not prevent the growth of the tradition of her as an immoral and wanton bisexual woman.

The main theme in Sappho's personal poetry is certainly love. Sometimes the poems are about love or friendship among women,[94] sometimes about relationships between men and women.[95] Sappho mentions the names of her (if she is the "I" in the poems) girl-companions, which makes the poems very intimate and at least seemingly autobiograpical. Since so many different opinions about the poetess and her friends have been built on these, it might be worth taking a look at what exactly is said about them in the extant poems and in tradition, and how the tradition has influenced the interpretation of the fragmentary lines.

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[87] Antip. Thess. in *Anth. Pal.* 9.26 (Timandra being possibly the mistress of Alcibiades, see Plut. *Alcib.* 39), Dio Chrys. *Or.* 64.2. Clement compares Sappho with the poetesses Corinna, Telesilla, and Myia, and painters Irene the daughter of Cratinus, and Alexandra the daughter of Nealces (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 4.1.22), Eustathius with Erinna, Praxilla, Corinna and Charixena (Eustath. in *Il.* 326.43–327.9).

[88] Schol. Aesch. *Pers.* 885.

[89] Str. 13.2.3 (617), Ov. *Ep.* (*Her.*) 15.31–40.

[90] Pinytus in *Anth. Pal.* 7.16, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.9.9–12.

[91] Luc. *Am.* 30, cf. [Mosch.] *Epit. Bion* 86, 89; Luc. *De merc. cond.* 36, cf. *Imag.* 18.

[92] Galen. 4.771 Kühn.

[93] Ael. ap Stob. *Flor.* 3.29.58; see the comparable account of Solon and Stesichorus' poetry in Amm. Marc. (4th c. AD) 28.4.15.

[94] Cf. frr. 1, 22, 31, 49, possibly also 16, 23, 48, 62, 126.

[95] Cf. frr. 121, 138, 211. No names of (her) male friends are mentioned in the extant fragments.

Anactoria is mentioned in only one papyrus fragment in which she "who is not here" is yearned for and recalled as more beautiful than all the great military displays: "I would rather see her lovely walk and the bright sparkle of her face than the Lydians' chariots and armed infantry."[96] The poem is full of love and Anactoria is certainly referred to as someone very dear to the poet.

Atthis figures in fragment 131 AS a former close friend, perhaps lover, with whom the poet has had a quarrel; she has left her and gone off to Andromeda, and the poet seems to miss her bitterly:

> Ἄτθι, σοὶ δ' ἔμεθεν μὲν ἀπήχθετο
> φροντίσδην, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀνδρομέδαν πότῃ. (fr. 131)[97]

In fr. 96, written perhaps before the quarrel (if the quarrel ever happened) the poet comforts the "gentle" Atthis, saying that another girl, now in Lydia, has not forgotten her:

> πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταις ἀγάνας ἐπι-
> μνάσθεισ' Ἄτθιδος, ἰμέρωι
> λέπταν ποὶ φρένα κῆρ ἄσα βόρηται.[98]

All we know about Mnasidica is that she was more beautiful than "gentle" Gyrinno:

> εὐμορφοτέρα Μνασιδίκα τὰς ἀπάλας Γυρίννως ... (fr. 82a)[99]

Gyrinno probably figures also in a corrupt papyrus commentary (fr. 90) in which the word "proud" may be associated with her, and perhaps in fr. 29.[100]

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[96] Fr. 16 (POxy 1231 fr. 1 col. I: 13–34, ll. 15–20), Campbell's translation. About conjectures, see Grenfell & Hunt in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* x:23 f. and Lobel-Page 1955:14 f. Campbell (1967:270) has suggested that Anactoria might be the Milesian Anagora mentioned in the Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1].

[97] Fr. 131 ap. Heph. *Ench.* 7.7.

[98] Fr. 96 (PBerol 9722 fol. 5.16, Schubart and Wilamowitz 1907). About fr. 49, in which the codices' ἄτοι or ἄτε has been emended as Ἄτθι purely on the basis of tradition, see Parker 2006. It has been suggested that Atthis is mentioned also in three more very corrupt papyri fragments: frr. 8.3, S 476.3 SLG, and in Alc. fr. 256.5, see p. 169 n. 8.

[99] Fr. 82a in Heph. *Ench.* 11.5.

[100] Fr. 90 (POxy 2293 fr. 1(a) col. iii 13 ff.): ἀγε]ρώχου[ς ... ἄγαν ἐχού]σας γερας· ... καὶ Γυρινν[... τας τοιαύτας ... ἔ]γω τὸ κάλλος ἐπετ. [... μέ⟨σ⟩δον· κτλ. (L-P, followed by Campbell), see Lobel & Page 1955:68 f. Fr. 29 (POxy 2166(a) 1231.1.3): Γ]ύριννοι (Lobel).

Irana may be mentioned twice, first in fr. 91 in which she is found to be annoying or harmful:

> ἀσαροτέρας οὐδάμα πΩἴρανα σέθεν τύχοισαν,[101]

and in fr. 135 where the poet addresses Irana asking her about Procne the daughter of Pandion:

> τί με Πανδίονις, Ὤιρανα, χελίδων ... [102]

Dica in fr. 81 is encouraged, possibly in connection with some ritual, to wear garlands made of anise on her locks:[103]

> σὺ δε στεφάνοις, ὦ Δίκα, πέρθεσθ' ἐράτοις φόβαισιν
> ὄρπακας ἀνήτω συν⟨α⟩έρραισ' ἀπάλαισι χέρσιν·
> εὐάνθεα †γὰρ πέλεται† καὶ Χάριτες μάκαιραι
> μᾶλλον †προτερην†,[104] ἀστεφανώτοισι δ' ἀπυστρέφονται.

> *... and you, Dica, put lovely garlands around your locks, binding together stems of anise with your soft hands; for the blessed Graces look rather on what is adorned with flowers and turn away from the ungarlanded.*[105]

In the fourth line of another poem of yearning, fr. 95, Gongyla is mentioned (Γογγυλα. [). Some lines on the text go: "I get no pleasure from being above the earth, and a longing grips me to die and see the dewy, lotus-covered banks of Acheron ..." (95.10–13).[106] Unfortunately, the text above the lines is damaged and it cannot be said with any certainty whether it is Gongyla who is missed by the poet.[107] Gongyla may perhaps be mentioned also in fr. 22 lines 9–14 (POxy 1231 fr.15.2):

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[101] Fr. 91 ap. Heph. *Ench.* 11.5. πώρανvα cod. A, ὤρανα cod. I, εἰρήνα cod U, ἀπώρανα cod. K—πΩἴρανα L.-P. (see also Choeroboscus' commentary to the line *ad loc.*).
[102] Fr. 135 (*ibid.* 12.2) ὡράνα cod.—Ὤιρανα (Lobel).
[103] Fr. 81 ap. Athen. 15.674e with Athenaeus' commentary *ad loc.*
[104] προτερην cod. A, προφέρην Lobel, προτόρην Seidler, followed by Campbell.
[105] Campbell's translation.
[106] Fr. 95 ap. PBerol 9722 fol. 4.4 (see Schubart & Wilamowitz 1907:15, Lobel & Page 1955:77). Campbell's translation.
[107] Page 1955:86: "It is an obvious but unverifiable conjecture that it was unsatisfied love for Gongyla which was the cause of Sappho's despair expressed in the last more or less complete stanza; the common opinion is that she is merely the person to whom Sappho is speaking."

.].ε.[....].[... κ]έλομαι σ' ἀ[είδην
Γο]γγύλαν[Ἄβ]ανθι λάβοισαν ἀ.[
πᾶ]κτιν, ἆς σε δηὖτε πόθος τ.[
ἀμφιπόταται
τὰν κάλαν· ἀ γὰρ κατάγωγις αὖτα[ς σ'
ἐπτόαισ' ἴδοισαν, ἔγω δὲ χαίρω, ... (Campbell's *Greek Lyric*)[108]

Campbell translates: "I bid you, Abanthis, take (your lyre?) and sing of Gongyla, while desire once again flies around you, the lovely one—for her dress excited you when you saw it; and I rejoice: ...". It is a poem about love, but whether it is love between Gongyla and Abanthis, depends on rather tentative conjectures.[109]

It has been suggested that the papyri fragments may contain four further names of Sappho's companions. In fr. 71 (POxy 1787 fr. 6) a girl called Mica seems to be reproached (?) for having chosen the "friendship of the ladies of the house of Penthilus," and is possibly described both "villain" and "soft-voiced."[110] The relationship between Sappho(?) and Mica(?) in the poem depends on whether the Penthilids were regarded as a friendly family, or as one housing rivals. There are no other references about Mica either in Sappho's poetry or in tradition. The exceedingly fragile readings which have been suggested to be names Arignota, Megara, Cydro and Gorgo have been already discussed above (p. 169).

Another two names figure in the poems, and perhaps not in the same positive manner as in the case of the above-mentioned girls. In the

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108 Grenfell & Hunt, vol. x, p. 30:

[.]. ν.[.........]έλομαισ[
[...]. γυλα.[.....]νθιλαβοισαμα.[
[...]κτιναυσεδηὖτεποθοστ. [
αμφιποταται
τανκαλαν·αγαρκατάγωγισάυτα[
επτοαισ'ιδοισαν·εγωδεχαιρω· ...

About the conjectures, see Lobel & Page 1955:20.

109 If [...]νθι stands for Abanthis (as suggested by Wilamowitz and Lobel & Page). Cf. Edmonds 1928:216 f. (fr. 45), who restores the lines 10–11 AS [Γόγ]γυλα β[ρόδ]αηνθι, λάβοισα Λύδ.α.[ν] /[πᾶ]κτιν· ..., i.e. he omits Abanthis and interprets the poem as a poet's address to Gongyla. Abanthis is mentioned also in Alc. fr. 261(b),—a fragment which Campbell would ascribe to Sappho rather than to Alcaeus (1982:329 n. 1 at fr. 256(a), and 331 n. 1 at fr. 261(b)). Gongyla may be mentioned also in another scrap of papyrus:].γογγυ[λ- (fr. 213A(a)) line 4 in POxy 2506 fr. 8.4.

110 See the readings in Grenfell & Hunt (vol. xv:32), and Lobel & Page 1955, and Campbell 1982.

fr. 133(a) Sappho says that Andromeda has (received) a good recompense or payment: ἔχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδα κάλαν ἀμοίβαν.[111] It does not necessarily follow that the piece is "sharp-toned" as claimed by Kirkwood, or that Andromeda was necessarily a rival to Sappho.[112] In fr. 131 Andromeda is mentioned as a person for whom Atthis left Sappho, but again, without any context it is impossible to decide whether Andromeda is here mentioned as Sappho's rival, whether in profession or in love. According to Athenaeus, Sappho derides Andromeda for her "country-clothes" in fr. 57, but the verses cited *in loco* are unmetrical and the context is missing, therefore we can only take the word of Athenaeus that Andromeda is mocked in the poem. In the introduction to fragment 155, Maximus Tyre, thanks to whom the fragment has come down to us and who probably had the whole poem in his possession, asserts that Sappho censures Andromeda and Gorgo who seem to have belonged to the house of Polyanax, and uses irony saying: "I wish the daughter of the house of Polyanax a very good day."[113] In the case of Gorgo the situation is even more vague. In fragment 213 an Archeanassa and perhaps also Gongyla are called Gorgo's yoke-mates (σύνζυξ), possibly with pejorative meaning, as is usually presumed, but it really depends on the context which we do not have.[114] Fragment 144 has been read μάλα δὴ κεκορημένοις Γόργως, but even if the reading is correct, we do not know who has had enough of Gorgo and why.[115] As we can see, the names of the girls in fragments are in many cases highly conjectural and more than often drawn from tradition.

The character of the circle of Sappho is discussed by Maximus of Tyre (2nd c. AD). He compares the preferences of Sappho and Socrates, and concludes that the only difference is that Socrates loved men, Sappho women: what Alcibiades, Charmides, and Phaedrus were to Socrates, Gyrinno,[116] Atthis and Anactoria were to Sappho; and what the rival craftsmen (ἀντίτεχνοι) Prodicus, Gorgias, Thrasymachus and Protagoras were to him, Gorgo and Andromeda were to her. Maximus says that the poetess sometimes censured them, sometimes questioned them,

[111] Fr. 133(a) Campbell (or 133.1 L-P) ap. Heph. *Ench.* 14.7.
[112] Kirkwood 1974:131.
[113] Fr. 155 ap. Max. Tyr. 18.9. Translation by Campbell. Polyanactis or "a Polyanactid" is mentioned in fr. 99 (POxy 2219 col. i.2).
[114] Fr. 213 in POxy 2292.
[115] About the reading see p. 169.
[116] Spelt as Gyrinna by Maximus.

sometimes treated them with sarcasm,—just as Socrates did.[117] Maximus obviously interprets Sappho's poetry and is helping to create a strand of tradition about the rival poetesses and their groups. We have, however, only one other ancient reference about the other groups: Philostratus (2nd/3rd c. AD) mentions a Pamphylian poetess Damophyla (unknown from Sappho's fragments or any other source), who was said to have been associated with Sappho, to have had girl-companions as she had, and to have composed love-poems and hymns just as Sappho did.[118] Philostratus does not say anything about the nature of the relationship between Sappho and Damophyla. Somewhat surprisingly, most modern commentators have, on the basis of these two late and fairly vague sources and on unreliable readings of papyri fragments, come to the almost unanimous conclusion that the existence of rival groups and their leaders Andromeda and Gorgo is a historical fact.[119] In my view, all we can say is that in later antiquity an opinion was formed that other groups of women engaged in activities similar to those of the group of Sappho existed in archaic era. Of the two sources which mention these groups and their leaders, Maximus regards Andromeda and Gorgo as rivals of Sappho only in their art,[120] and Philostratus does not mention rivalry between Sappho and Damophyla at all.

It seems that Sappho's homoeroticism did not trouble early authors. Anacreon's attitude to the love between girls from Lesbos does not sound reproachful (358 PMG); Herodotus, Aristotle, Plato, and other classical authors (except the comedy-writers) do not refer to Sappho's alleged homosexuality at all. The lesbian eroticism simply does not seem to be anything that the early authors would have found disturbing.

The first sources to hint at the development of Sappho's ill-repute are the fourth-century Athenian comedies. We know that several of them

117 Max. Tyr. *Or.* 8.9 Trapp. He continues by saying that, just as Socrates was angry with Xanthippe for wailing when he was dying, Sappho told her daughter not to lament in the house of those who serve the Muses (Max. Tyr. *Or.* 18.9 Trapp = Sappho fr. 155).

118 Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 1.30.

119 See Aly in RE s.v. *Sappho*, Smith in DGRBM s.v. *Sappho* p. 703, Robinson 1924:30, Schmid-Stählin 1929:418, Schadewaldt 1936:365, Page 1955:133f. ("Andromeda was a dangerous rival, who made important conquests in Sappho's territory," and "There was another leader of a rival society, Gorgo ..."), Merkelbach 1957:5, West 1970:320, Kirkwood 1974:101 and 131, Campbell 1982:xiii, Burnett 1983:212f., Podlecki 1984:88, Gentili 1988:82f., Gerber 1997:156f., Hutchinson 2001:145. But see Parker (1993) who does not accept the existence of *thiasos* of Sappho.

120 καὶ ὅ τι περ Σωκράτει οἱ ἀντίτεχνοι Πρόδικος καὶ Γοργίας καὶ Θρασύμαχος καὶ Πρωταγόρας, τοῦτο τῇ Σαπφοῖ Γοργὼ καὶ Ἀνδρομέδα (Max. Tyr. 18.9).

were titled *Sappho*.[121] Although we have not enough extant material to decide how exactly she was represented in them, we can imagine that a character important enough to give a title to these most probably lewd comedies could not have been described as a modest house-wife. Instead she was probably treated in these plays as a stock-character of a lascivious woman with many partners. Diphilus made the erotic poets Archilochus and Hipponax her lovers; Hermesianax added Alcaeus and Anacreon in the list of Sappho's partners.[122] A character in Epicrates' comedy claims to have "learned thoroughly all the love-affairs (τἀρωτίκ') of Sappho."[123] As is mentioned above, there were also comedies in which Sappho's love for the handsome ferryman with dubious reputation may have been treated.[124] Thus, the direct evidence, scanty as it is, indicates that comic writers often represented Sappho as a lustful woman with many male partners. The evidence does not show that the Late-Classical comic poets would have represented her as a homosexual poetess.

Nor does the tradition of the "second Sappho" have anything to do with Sappho's alleged ill-repute caused by her homosexuality. The earliest author to refer to this tradition is the Hellenistic historian Nymphodorus, who says that there was a courtesan from Eresus who had the same name as (the poetess) Sappho, and she was famous for having loved the handsome Phaon.[125] Later sources make the "second Sappho" a harp-player of Mytilene who threw herself from the Leucadian cliff for love of Phaon.[126] Didymus the Grammarian is reported to have written a treatise on the topic whether Sappho was a prostitute.[127] It seems that the tradition of the "second Sappho" developed as a reaction to the exaggerated and unpleasant image of the poetess as a woman with many male-lovers, which the comic writers had created for her.[128]

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[121] Ameipsias fr. 15 K.-A., Amphis fr. 32 K.-A., Antiphanes fr. 194, 195 K.-A., Ephippus fr. 20 K.-A., Timocles fr. 32 K.-A., Diphilus fr. 71 K.-A.

[122] Diphil. fr. 71 K.-A., Hermesianax fr. 2.47–52, also Athen. 13.598c and 599cd.

[123] Epicr. Ἀντιλαΐς fr. 4 K.-A. Cf. the hints about the bad reputation of the Lesbians in sexual matters in Aristophanes' comedies: the verb λεσβιεῖν/λεσβιάζειν as "to suck" in the *Frogs* (v. 1308) and the *Wasps* (v. 1346). He does not mention Sappho in the context though. See also Lucian *Pseudol.* 28 about λεσβιάζειν and φοινικίζειν.

[124] Cf. p. 181 n. 73.

[125] Nymphod. 572 F *6 (= Nymphis 432 F 18) ap. Athen. 13.596e (see also p. 174 n. 31 above).

[126] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[2], and Φάων.

[127] Didym. ap Sen. *Epist.* 88.37. Aelian repeats the information given by Didymus that the "other" Sappho was a courtesan from Lesbos (*VH* 12.18).

[128] Aly in RE s.v. *Sappho*, Smith in DGRBM s.v. *Sappho*, Dörrie 1975:14–18, Williamson 1995:7–11, 32 f., *et al.*

By the Roman time Sappho's notoriety has expanded to a new level: now she is regarded as having been not only heterosexually but also homosexually lascivious. Horace calls her *mascula Sappho*, who is singing about the girls of her city.[129] Ovid asks: "what else did Sappho of Lesbos teach her girls but love?" and proclaims her wanton; Martial calls Sappho simply *amatrix*.[130] In his *Heroides* Ovid makes the poetess accuse her fellow-islanders of causing her bad reputation, and to state that she no longer takes pleasure in the maids of Lesbos. Ovid also gives the names of three of these women: Anactoria, Cydro, and Atthis.[131] It seems that, contrary to the authors of the Classical period, the sexuality in Sappho's poetry troubled the Roman authors.[132]

The topic continued to be popular: in a papyrus from the turn of the second and third century AD, Sappho is reported to have been accused of being irregular in her ways and a woman-lover.[133] The Suda mentions three of her companions and friends: Atthis, Megara, and Telesippa, and adds that Sappho was falsely accused of shameful friendship with them.[134] The Suda names also three of her pupils: Anagora of Miletus, Gongyla of Colophon, and Eunica of Salamis.[135] And finally, in a piece of papyrus of 2nd century AD it is said that Sappho was involved with teaching the noblest girls not only from the local families but also from families in Ionia.[136]

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[129] Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.28; *Carm.* 2.13.24f.: … *Aeoliis fidibus querentem/Sappho puellis de popularibus* … Cf. Auson. 8.25. See the interpretations of Horace's passages in Nisbet & Hubbard 1978:216f, Mayer 1994:264f.

[130] Ov. *Trist.* 2.363–365, *Ars amat.* 3.329–331, Martial *Ep.* 7.69.

[131] Ov. *Ep.* (*Her.*) 15. 201f. and 15–20; cf. *Rem.* 759–762 (Sappho as a teacher of love). About Ovid's *Her.* 15, see Jacobson 1974:277–299 with the bibliography in p. 299 n. 2.

[132] See also Williamson 1995:23f.

[133] POxy 1800 fr. 1.

[134] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1]. According to Zuntz, Atthis is an Asiatic name (1951:22). Telesippa might perhaps be Telesilla, the late-sixth century lyric poetess of Argos who has here become a part of Sappho's tradition? She is mentioned with Sappho by Antipater of Thessalonica (*Anth. Pal.* 7.15) and by Clement (*Strom.* 4.122).

[135] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1]. Eunica is not known from other sources. The Suda (s.v. Ἤριννα) and Eustathius (in *Il.* 326.43–327.9) mention also an epic poetess Erinna of Teos, Lesbos or Rhodes, who was, according to them, a friend of Sappho, and who died when she was only nineteen years old. Erinna lived, in fact, probably in the fourth century BC, and is here simply linked to the tradition of the most famous female poetess of old. In two epigrams ascribed to Sappho (157, 158 Diehl) Arista and Timas are mentioned. But these epigrams are probably Hellenistic imitations of Sappho's style and the girls mentioned in them have probably nothing to do with the poetess, see Gow & Page 1965 ii:597.

[136] PColon 5860 (Sappho fr. 214B = S 261 A SLG).

Modern opinions about the nature of the circle, and the relationship between Sappho and the girls vary extensively and have considerably changed during the last 100–150 years, owing to the changes in the attitudes towards sexuality in society. In the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, as a reaction to an image of Sappho as a lascivious bisexual woman, a theory of "Sappho's school" appeared, according to which she was a leader of a girls' "boarding-school" where lessons in music, poetry, and in moral and social topics were taught, and the girls were prepared for their adult life as brides, wives and mothers.[137] Since then many different suggestions have been made about Sappho's circle, the most influential of them, perhaps, the one according to which the girls formed a closed group, *thiasos*, whose main purpose was to worship Aphrodite and the Muses, and that Sappho was a priestess of Aphrodite.[138] In Sappho's extant fragments Aphrodite, Hera, Artemis, Apollo, Zeus, Ares, Hermes, Dionysus, and the Dioscuri are mentioned, but only in the case of fr. 2 and 140(a) (Aphrodite), and fr. 17 (Hera) can it be said with some certainty that these are ritual songs.[139] Neither has any ancient author recorded that Sappho might have been a priestess. The lack of evidence has led to a current general opinion that Sappho's circle consisted the choruses whose leader she was and included her young lovers,[140] or was a fairly informal group of young women, friends of Sappho rather than formal pupils, and that although Sappho certainly composed for and performed at ritual events, the circle of Sappho does not seem to have been formally dedicated to any particular service, and

[137] Welcker 1816:81–129; Wilamowitz 1913:63–78; Schmid-Stählin 1929:418, 420; RE s.v. *Sappho*; *et al.* Cf. the overview of the opinions of modern authors by Jenkyns 1982:1–7, Page 1955:110 f., Lardinois 1994:75–80.

[138] Wilamowitz 1897:259 f., 1913: 44 ff., Aly in RE s.v. *Sappho* 2377 f., Robinson 1924:29, Merkelbach 1957:1–6, Reinach and Puech 1960:169–173, Campbell 1967:261, Lasserre 1974:5–33; Gentili 1988:216–222, *et al.* But see West 1970:324 ff. and Parker 1993.

[139] Aphrodite is mentioned in frr. 2 (invocation to the goddess), 5 (a request for a safe return of a brother from a voyage), 1, 22, 33, 86, 102 (love-songs?), 44, 112 (epithalamia?), 65, 73, 90, 96, 133, 134 (uncertain context). Hera: 17 (a prayer), 9 (uncertain context). Artemis: 44, 84 (uncertain context). Apollo: 99(b), 208 (uncertain context). Zeus: 180, 166, 204, cf. 17 (uncertain context). Ares: 111 (epithalamium). Hermes: 141 (epithalamium). Dionysus: 17 (Θυώνας ἰμε̣[ρόεντα παῖδα). Dioscuri: 68(a). Also Nymphs (124, 214A), Nereids (5), Graces (53, 103, 128), and the Muses (127, 128, 150, 187, 208) are mentioned.

[140] Lardinois 1994.

the poetess did not hold any official post as a priestess.[141] In my view, Sappho, as with many other early non-professional poets (Archilochus, for example), composed for religious ceremonies and public occasions when necessary, and she and the girls took part in the rituals on the same basis and as frequently as other women and girls in the community.[142]

6. *Sappho's inventions and music*

As with other famous poets, some inventions were ascribed to Sappho. All of them are connected with music or poetry. First, Menaechmus of Sicyon (*ca.* 300 BC) reports that she invented the *pectis*, which, he and Aristoxenus say, is the same as the *magadis*.[143] *Pectis* is probably a harp-type triangular string-instrument of Lydian origin, which could be played without a plectrum, by simply plucking the strings with the fingers.[144] The *pectis* is mentioned in fr. 156 by Sappho.[145]

Aristoxenus ascribes to her the invention of the Mixolydian mode (elsewhere believed to be invented by Terpander or Pythocleides the aulete); and the Suda reports that Sappho invented the plectrum for plucking the strings.[146] It is possible that the Mixolydian mode became linked to Sappho because it was frequently used in her songs. We have only two late sources to describe how Sappho's poetry was performed in antiquity, by Plutarch and Gellius: both say that it was sung at the symposium after dinner.[147] I do not think there can be any doubt that her poems were usually sung to the accompaniment of some instrument from the start and probably throughout antiquity.[148] In addition to the *pectis*, the lyre (frr. 58, 118), aulos (fr. 44), the *baromos* or *barbitos* (fr. 176), and

141 See especially Page 1955:111 f., 139, and Parker 1993: *passim*, but also Bowra 1961:195, West 1970:324–328, Burnett 1983:211 f. and 215, Gerber 1997:162, *et al.*

142 See also Parker 1993:341–346.

143 Menaechm. 131 F 4, Aristox. fr. 98 Wehrli, both ap. Athen. 14.635e.

144 Aristox. fr. 99 ap. Athen. 14.635b. See Maas and Snyder 1989:40 f., West 1992:71–75.

145 See also fr. 117A(1) Campbell (194A Voigt).

146 The Mixolydian mode by Sappho: Aristox. fr. 81 Wehrli ap. [Plut.] *Mus.* 16.1136c; Terpander as an inventor of the mode: [Plut.] *Mus.* 28.1140 f.; and Pythocleides: *ibid.* 16.1136d. About the Mixolydian mode see West 1992:174 f. and 182. The plectrum: Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1]. Smith (in DGRBM s.v. *Sappho*) and Campbell (1982:7) have suggested that the Suda may have confused the plectrum with the *pectis*.

147 Plut. *Mor.* 622c, Aul. Gell. *NA* 19.9.3.

148 See also West 1970:307 f.

castanets (fr. 44) are mentioned in Sappho's extant fragments,—all of these instruments may have been used to accompany her songs.

Sappho's main metre, the Sapphic hendecasyllable was, however, believed to have been invented by Alcaeus, but as there was a discussion over this matter, it seems that there were those as well who ascribed the invention of this metre to her.[149]

7. *The ancient editions of Sappho's poetry, and the treatises on her life*

The fact that the initial "psi" in Sappho's name in the fragments of her poetry has survived despite the habit of other ancient authors to spell her name with an initial "sigma" may indicate that the first written text of her poetry was made locally, or even that Sappho herself wrote her poems down. In the latter case, there must have existed a 7th/6th century manuscript of Sappho's poetry. The transcriptions of this manuscript could have been a basis for the edition which was used by Plato, Aristotle, and other Classical authors. A Lesbian edition based on the original manuscript (and a similar edition of Alcaeus' poetry) may have been used by Callias of Mytilene (*ca.* 200 BC) when he was writing his commentaries on the (poetry of the) Lesbian poets.[150] We do not know, however, any details about this possible early manuscript or edition.[151] The edition which became canonical and was used by the majority of later authors was made in Alexandria (possibly on the basis of the local Lesbian edition). It probably included nine books, eight of them arranged by metre and the ninth including the epithalamia.[152]

[149] Hephaest. *Ench.* 14.1, p. 43 f. Consbr., Mar. Vict. *Ars gramm.* in GL vi.161.

[150] Callias ap. Str. 13.2.4 (618).

[151] The earliest known copies of Sappho's poems, preserved not as citations in other authors' works, are frr. 58 and 65 (PColon 21351), fr. 2 on a potsherd (*Ostracon Flor.*), and fr. 98 (PHaun 301), all from the third century BC and some of her poems were included in Meleager's *Garland* (1 Gow-Page). But these were single poems not a compact edition. About PColon 21351 see Gronewald & Daniel 2004a:1–8 and 2004b:1–4, and West 2005b; about PHaun 301 see Vogliano 1941 and Page 1955: 98, about the ostracon, Gallavotti 1941.

[152] Lobel 1925:xiii–xvii, Page 1955:112–116. All nine books are referred to by Tullius Laurea (1 Gentili-Prato), the Suda (s.v. Σαπφώ[1]), and possibly in POxy 1800 fr. 1; Photius mentions the eighth book (*Bibl.* 161), whose contents may be shown on POxy 2294 (Sappho fr. 103). Hephaestio (*Ench.* 10.5) and M. Plotius Sacerdus (*Ars gramm.* in GL vi.546) talk about the metre of her seventh book; the fifth book is mentioned by Caesius Bassus (*De metr.* in GL vi.258), Pollux (7.73), Athenaeus (9.410e), and Atilius

Apart from the editions of her poems, occasional references in other authors' works, and comedies on her, there were also many treatises on Sappho and her songs. Some information about them has come down to us: Chamaeleon (4th/3rd c. BC) is known to have written a book Περὶ Σαπφοῦς which presumably contained information also about her life;[153] Didymus the grammarian, who is said to have written four thousand books, had one on the topic of whether Sappho was a prostitute;[154] and from the turn of the second and third century AD we have a biographical papyrus on her.[155] Also the Byzantine lexicographers mention her in several articles.[156]

Her music was studied by Aristoxenus and Menaechmus, style and poetry by Demetrius of Phaleron, Clearchus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, [Longinus], Plutarch, and Menander the Rhetor.[157] Sappho's metre was investigated in Draco of Stratonicea's book Περὶ τῶν Σαπφοῦς μέτρων, and also by Marius Victorinus and Atilius Fortunatianus.[158]

8. *The date of Sappho*

Herodotus reports the opinion of "some Greeks" that Rhodopis the mistress of Sappho's brother, and consequently a contemporary of the poetess, lived in the time of the pharaoh Mycerinus.[159] Since Mycerinus

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Fortunatianus (*Ars gramm.* in GL vi.295). The second and third book's metre is analyzed by Hephaestio (*Poem.* 1); and the first book is mentioned in a scholium on the metre of Pindar's *Pythian* 1.

153 Chamael. fr. 26, 27 Wehrli. He is known to have written on several other early poets, such as Homer (fr. 14), Alcman (frr. 24, 25), Stesichorus (28, 29), Pindar (31, 32), Simonides (33–35), Anacreon (36), and Aeschylus (39–42) as well. About ancient criticism on Sappho see Dörrie 1975:19–28, Williamson 1995:34–49.

154 Didymus ap. Sen. *Ep.* 88.37. He, too, wrote on other poets' lives, for example, on Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Bacchylides, *et al.*, see OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Didymus* (1).

155 POxy 1800 fr. 1. One of the sources of this compilation is Chamaeleon, cited in the end of the scrap.

156 Photius' *Lexicon* s.v. Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα, Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1] and [2], s.v. Φάων, Ἤριννα, Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα, Αἴσωπος, Ἰάδμων, and Χάραξος.

157 Aristox. fr. 81 Wehrli, Menaechm. in Περὶ τεχνιτῶν ap. Athen. 15.635b; Dem. Phal. *Eloc.* 132, Clearchus *Phil.* fr. 33 Wehrli., Dion. Halic. *Comp.* 19, 23, *Dem.* 40, [Longin.] *De subl.* 10.1–3, Plut. *Amat.* 18, *Mor.* 379a, Menand. *Rhet.* 9.132, 268 Walz.

158 Draco in Suda s.v. Δράκων; he wrote on Alcaeus' poetry as well (Suda, *ibid.*); Mar. Vict. *Ars gramm.* in GL vi.161, Atil. Fort. *Ars gramm.* GL vi.295.

159 Hdt. 2.134. Herodotus synchronizes Rhodopis (and consequently Charaxus and Sappho) also with Aesop the fable-teller. Plutarch (*Mor.* 152c) synchronizes Aesop with Solon (i.e. with the Seven Sages), Diogenes Laertius (1.72) with Chilon (another Sage)

belonged in the fourth dynasty (*ca.* 2613–2498 BC) this date is certainly too early for Sappho, as Herodotus himself asserts.[160]

He provides also another synchronism for Rhodopis (and Sappho): the famous courtesan had lived in the time of Amasis.[161] Amasis, or Ahmose II, the last great pharaoh of Egypt, was probably the fifth ruler in the 26th dynasty, and Eusebius dates his reign to Ol.53.2 (567/6)—Ol.63.4 (525/4).[162] It is probable that behind Herodotus' synchronism Sappho-Amasis there lies the opinion that the Seven Sages lived at the time of Croesus, whom Herodotus synchronizes with Amasis the Egyptian.[163] Among the Sages belonged Pittacus of Mytilene whom Alcaeus is reported to have reviled in his poetry for political reasons.[164] Alcaeus, again, was firmly believed to have been contemporary to Sappho: according to Aristotle, Alcaeus had addressed one of his poems (fr. 137) to her, who also replied to him.[165]

Aelian, in turn, synchronizes Rhodopis (and therefore also Sappho) with the pharaoh Psammetichus, while Athenaeus places Sappho loosely within the Lydian king Alyattes' rule.[166] Psammetichus (or Psamatik) I reigned, according to Eusebius, from Ol.30.3 (658) to Ol.41.2 (615), and Psammetichus II from Ol.43.1 (608) to Ol.45.4 (597).[167] Eusebius

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and says that Aesop's *akme* was in Ol.52 (572/69) when Chilon was already an old man. The Suda in s.v. Αἴσωπος (alphaiota,334) synchronizes Aesop with Croesus and gives Ol.40 (620/17) as his *akme* and Ol.54 (564/1) as the date of his death, and mentions him also in connection of Rhodopis, Charaxus and Sappho.

[160] Hdt. *ibid.* About Mycerinus (or rather Menkaure) see CAH[2] i.2:169, 176, 995.

[161] Hdt. 2.134.

[162] Or Ol.53.3 (566/5)—Ol.64.1 (524/3) in the Armenian version. See CAH[1] iii:302 ff., CAH[2] iii.2: 414, 708 ff., 719 and OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Amasis* who both give 570–526 BC as the period of Amasis' reign.

[163] See Solon's visits to Amasis and Croesus in Hdt. 1.30–33; Bias of Priene and Pittacus of Mytilene and Croesus in 1.27, the Seven Sages and Croesus in 1.28.

[164] See Str. 13.2.3 (617), Diog. L. 2.46, cf. also Diog. L. 1.74, Plut. *Mor.* 585ab, Str. 13.1.38 (599–600), Arist. *Pol.* 1285a, [Acro] on Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.28, Diod. Sic. 9.12.3. Alcaeus mentions Pittacus by name in frr. 70, 170 and 348, by patronymic in 129 and also perhaps in 298.47, and by nick-names in 129, see also 429.

[165] Arist. *Rhet.* 1367a with Stephanus' schol. *ad loc.* Cf. also the 5th century vase painting in which Sappho and Alcaeus are represented together (see p. 172 above), and Alcaeus' poem (fr. 384) allegedly about Sappho (p. 170 above). About Sappho's, Alcaeus' and Pittacus' date, see Mosshammer 1979:246–254 and Jacoby 1902:156–165.

[166] Ael. *VH* 13.33, Athen. 13.599c. Aelian does not mention Sappho in the passage, but his source seems to be Strabo who tells the same story and links Rhodopis with Sappho in 17.1.33 (808).

[167] The Armenian version gives Ol.30.4 (657)—Ol.41.3 (613) for Psammetichus I, and Ol.43.2 (606)—Ol.47.2 (591) to Psammetichus II. The modern dates for the pharaos are

regarded Psammetichus II as contemporary to Alyattes, giving the latter the dates Ol.42.1 (611) to Ol.54.2 (563). In the time of Alyattes he located, probably following Apollodorus, the Seven Sages (*incl.* Pittacus), and also Sappho and Alcaeus.[168] The *Marmor Parium*'s statement that Sappho went into exile between 604/3 and 596/5, at the time when Critias I was an archon in Athens, leads approximately to the same period and is probably based on the same synchronisms between Alyattes-Pittacus, Pittacus-Alcaeus, and Alcaeus-Sappho.[169] Alcaeus and Sappho are synchronized with Pittacus also in Strabo and the Suda, the latter adding them Stesichorus and locating the synchronism in Ol.42 (612/608).[170] It is the same date as the one he gives for Pittacus' victory over Melanchrus the tyrant of Mytilene, and over the Athenian commander Phrynon at the war for Sigeum, regarding this date obviously as Pittacus' *akme*.[171] Stesichorus' date was usually expressed by the synchronism Stesichorus' death—Simonides' birth, which the Suda (following Apollodorus) placed in Ol.56 (556/2). In Ol.42 (Sappho's, Alcaeus' and Pittacus' *akme* in the Suda) Stesichorus would be twenty years old, and therefore conveniently contemporary to the Lesbians.[172] Perhaps the

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664–610 (Psammetichus I) and 595–589 (Psammetichus II), see CAH[1] iii:289 ff., CAH[2] iii.2:471, 708 ff., 726 ff., 749, Kuhrt 1995:ii.638.

[168] The Eusebian date for Sappho and Alcaeus is Ol.45.1 (600) or Ol.46.2 (596) in the Armenian version: *Sappho et Alcaeus poetae clari habentur*. His date for Pittacus is Ol.43.2 (607): *Pittacus Mitylenaeus, qui de septem sapientibus fuit, cum Frynone Atheniensi Olympionice congressus eum interfecit*,—cf. Plut. *Mor.* 858ab, Str. 13.1.38 (599–600) (= Alc. fr. 428a), and the Suda s.v. Πιττακός. The Eusebian date for Solon is Ol.46.3 (594); for Thales: Ol.48.3 (586); Ol.50.2 (579) is for the naming of the Seven Sages (*Septem sapientes appellati*); and Stesichorus' date is Ol.42.1 (611). Apollodorus, the most likely source of Eusebius' dates, probably took into account also the information about the war between the Athenians and Mytileneans for Sigeum in which Alcaeus lost his shield, Pittacus killed the Athenian commandor Phrynon, and Periander of Corinth (another Sage) served as an arbitrator, see Alc. fr. 428, Hdt. 5.94–95 and Suda s.v. Πιττακός. Cf. Mosshammer 1979:246–254 and Jacoby 1902:157–165 with his commentary on 239 F 36 FGrHist.

[169] *Marmor* Ep. 36, *cit.* in p. 179 n. 62. The date in the *Marmor* is lost in the lacuna and the date of Critias' archonship is not known from other sources. The dates in the Ep. 35 and Ep. 37 show, however, that Sappho's exile must have taken place between 604/3 and 591/0, and the years 594/5 to 592/1 can be excluded as already associated with other archons' names, see Jacoby 1904a:165, Mosshammer 1979:250.

[170] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1]: … γεγονυῖα κατὰ τὴν μβ′ Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὅτε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἦν καὶ Στησίχορος καὶ Πιττακός.

[171] Suda s.v. Πιττακός. The small discrepancy between the Suda's and *Marmor*'s dates could be explained, perhaps, with the confusion about the dates of the two Psammetichus,—the Suda synchronizing Pittacus (and Sappho and Alcaeus) with the end of the reign of Psammetichus I, and the *Marmor* with the beginning of Psammetichus II?

[172] For more about Stesichorus' date see p. 79.

synchronism was supported by the tradition that Sappho visited Stesichorus' home-land Sicily.[173]

Therefore, in general we have three ancient dates for Sappho, all correlated with the pharaohs, presumably because of Rhodopis' Egyptian connection:

1. The extreme synchronism with Mycerinus, reported by Herodotus, which places Sappho in *ca.* 2500 BC.
2. The synchronism with Psammetichus (either the First or the Second) in the turn of the seventh and sixth century, which is another way of saying that Sappho lived in the time of Alyattes, the Seven Sages, and Alcaeus. This synchronism is expressed by the *Marmor Parium*, Strabo, Ovid, Athenaeus, Aelian, Eusebius, and the Suda.
3. The synchronism between Sappho and Amasis in the sixth century BC, based on Herodotus' view that the Seven Sages (and consequently also Sappho and Alcaeus who were associated with Pittacus) belong in the time of Croesus the contemporary of Amasis.[174]

9. *Conclusions*

Sappho's biographical tradition has to a great extent grown around the details found in her poems. The tradition was formed early and continued to develop throughout antiquity. By the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC, Sappho as a poet and musician was known widely and well enough to be represented on vases with her name inscribed next to the portrait. Classical authors had a clear understanding about her origin and family: they knew that she was a native of Mytilene on Lesbos, that her father was called Scamandronymus, and that her brother Charaxus had a relationship with a courtesan Rhodopis. The names of her second brother Larichus, Sappho's daughter Cleis, and most of the names of the poetess' female companions must have been known to Classical authors as well since they are mentioned or reported

[173] Suda s.v. Σαπφώ[1], see Mosshammer 1979:221.

[174] Modern commentators unanimously agree with the general view of the ancients that Sappho was a contemporary with Alcaeus and Pittacus and lived in the end of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BC: see Smith in DGRBM s.v. *Sappho*, Aly in RE s.v. *Sappho*, Treu in RE Suppl. XI:1228, and Treu 1968:142–144, CAH² III.3:199, 467, OCD 3rd ed. s.v. *Sappho*, Jacoby 1902:156–165, 1904:165, Schmid-Stählin 1929:421 f., Reinach & Puech 1960:167; Burn 1960:227, Bowra 1961:176 f., Bauer 1963:1, Campbell 1967:260, Schadewaldt 1960:84 f., Saake 1972 *passim*, 1982:x–xi, Kirkwood 1974:100, Mosshammer 1979:246–254, Gerber 1997:156, Hutchinson 2001:139 f., *et al.*

to have been mentioned in Sappho's verses, but we do not know whether any stories were told in connection with these names yet. At least one invention, the Mixolydian mode, is ascribed to Sappho by a Classical author. On the basis of the story of Rhodopis, she was synchronized with the Egyptian pharaohs Mycerinus and Amasis, and also the synchronism Sappho-Alcaeus-Pittacus (drawn possibly from the local tradition of Lesbos) was known by that time. The fourth century Attic comic writers are probably responsible for creating the strand of tradition about Sappho as an ugly woman who had many affairs with men (including Archilochus and Hipponax), and who died because of love for young Phaon. By the Roman time the tradition of Sappho's bad reputation had grown to the extent that she was scornfully called a "woman-lover." As a reaction the tradition of the "second" Sappho, a prostitute of Eresus was developed.

Other new details mentioned in Hellenistic and later sources are some of the names of Sappho's companions (taken perhaps from her lost poems), some of whom are specified as her pupils. We also hear of another eight further names for Sappho's father in later sources. In addition we hear about her husband Cercylas. The latter detail may too have its origin in Attic comedies.

Thus we can conclude that Sappho's biographical tradition began to develop already in the Archaic period and continued to develop throughout antiquity. The essential features concerning her life were known to the authors of the Classical period, and later only the details and the stories about her reputation were added. Sappho's biographical tradition is typical of a poet, and it was formed around the hints found in her poetry, which were arranged and developed further according to the traditional formulaic conventions and story-patterns. The makers of the tradition seem to have, however, completely ignored the hints about her old age in the poems. This potential topic, which, in general, is very typical to the biographical traditions of poets, was probably suppressed by the development of the strong tradition that Sappho committed suicide by leaping from a cliff when a fairly young woman. This may also explain the lack of information about any grave of Sappho. It is sometimes very difficult to distinguish between conventional themes and possible historical events in Sappho's case: for example, her link with Alcaeus and the exile to Sicily may well be historical facts. At the same time, her association with Anacreon is most probably a formulaic connection between two famous poets, just as her death in Leucas and possibly also her inventions and pupils are conventional topics in the tradition.

In a way, Sappho's tradition has continued to develop even in the recent past, as modern commentators while examining the papyri found in Egypt have supplied letters and sometimes words in them. In this way, for example, they have helped to fix the names of Sappho's friends known from a very few ancient sources in the fragments of Sappho's poetry.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FORMATION OF BIOGRAPHICAL TRADITIONS

Having studied the traditions about poets' lives in detail, we may now make some conclusions about how, when and by whom these traditions, and biographical traditions of poets in general, were formed.

1. *Sources*

The identifiable sources which provide information are local traditions about the poets' families and lives, poets' own verses, some specific sources (lists of victors, for example), traditions formed by particular groups, literary works, writings of chronographers, grammarians, musicologists, etc. In some cases, a tradition of one poet's life has influenced the formation of the tradition about another poet.[1]

It is only natural that people took interest in the lives of the important poets of their society. The poems were preserved in memory and writing, and stories, both true and invented, were told about them. Gradually the local traditions were evolved with all the different strands and variations. Typical information transmitted by local traditions is the details concerned with the poet's origin, family and ancestors (e.g. the Cymean tradition about Hesiod's origin), the stories which link the poet to a particular place and people (e.g. Terpander's deeds in Sparta), and the details or legends about the circumstances of the poet's death and his cult (e.g. the Parian account about Archilochus' death in a sea battle against the Naxians, and the description of the establishment of his cult).[2] Also some inscriptions provide (true or fictional) information about the poets, e.g.

[1] About the sources of biographical traditions in general see also Fairweather 1974:232–256. She has included also Classical and later poets in her study.

[2] Cf. also the Spartan and Athenian traditions of Tyrtaeus (Suda s.v. Τυρταῖος, Pl. *Leges* 1.629a–b and schol. *ad loc.*, etc.), Corinthian and Lesbian traditions of the escape of Arion of Methymna (Hdt. 1.24), the numerous local strands in Homer's tradition (see the biographies of Homer referred to in p. 9 n. 5), and Jacoby 1933. There is no way to say with any certainty whether or which of the details in local traditions are historically correct or not.

the Glaucus and Docimus' inscriptions, and Mnesiepes' and Sosthenes' Inscriptions in Archilochus' tradition, IG 7.4240c which includes the name of Hesiod's father Dios, and IG 14.1213 with Stesichorus' home town and his father's name.

Another, and the most frequently used source is the poet's own poetry. Anything that the poet said in his or her verses, especially if they used the first person statements, could have been linked to their life, and so the hints and details found in the poems were often used and developed into elaborate stories of the poet's origin, family members, life-style and activities.[3] The information drawn from the poems gives to the particular tradition its individual character, and forms the basis for most of the major stories. They often give grounds also for speculations about the poet's date. Not all topics mentioned by the poets, however, entered the biographical traditions or were developed any further. For example, there are no stories of drunken Archilochus, or about Hesiod's life as a shepherd apart from the account that he was tending the sheep when he met the Muses; Hipponax is never presented as a lame *pharmakos* even though several fragments of his poetry, written in a "lame" iambic metre, describe the ritual of a scapegoat, nor have we accounts of Sappho's wedding or marriage, her old age, or of the location of her grave, which could have easily been developed on the basis of her verses.

Specific sources such as lists of victors were used at least in the case of Terpander and other Lesbian musicians, and possibly also in Archilochus' tradition (cf. the account that he won the contest for the hymn to Demeter in Paros).

The biographical traditions were shaped and transmitted by people who were involved with the performance of poetry and music, the audience who listened to the performances, the scholars who studied different aspects of poets' creation, and groups who wished for one reason or another to link themselves with the poet. Sometimes such groups can be identified: the Pythagoreans, for example, had an influential role in shaping Hesiod's and Stesichorus' traditions (cf. especially the story of Hesiod's death/Stesichorus' birth, the details of Stesichorus' brothers, and the story of Autoleon/Leonymus' journey to the White Island); the performers and the audience of iambus and comedy developed considerably some aspects in Sappho's, Archilochus' and Hipponax' traditions (e.g. the exaggeration of their lascivious or harsh character), the circle

[3] For example the tradition of Archilochus and the daughters of Lycambes, or the story of Hesiod's initiation.

of Delphian priests may have had some influence on Archilochus' tradition (cf. the oracles in his tradition).[4] Early musicologists, such as Glaucus of Rhegium and Aristoxenus of Tarentum, studied Terpander's, Sappho's and others' music and innovations in it, philosophers, grammarians and chronographers were interested in the works and life of all poets. The fiction writers too, such as Lucian, had their part to play in the process of formation and transmission of traditions.[5] One biographical tradition could influence another, as is clearly visible in the case of Hipponax whose tradition adopted details from the Lycambes story of Archilochus' tradition.

2. *Time*

The extant biographies, more or less continuous, of the poets discussed in this work, belong to the Hellenistic period. These are the Mnesiepes' and Sosthenes' Inscriptions on Archilochus, and Sappho's "biographical" papyrus POxy 1800. From an earlier period we know that Theagenes of Rhegium (6th c. BC) wrote a treatise on Homer, Aristotle had works on poets, and Chamaeleon (4th/3rd c. BC) on Sappho, Alcman, Stesichorus, Homer, Pindar, Anacreon and Aeschylus.[6] These treatises have not survived. The majority of the information we have about the poets, comes from the scattered references in the works of ancient authors, and therefore we cannot expect the direct sources about the traditions to reach back much further than the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century BC. The fifth-century authors, however, frequently refer to the details and stories about the poets as well known facts. This implies that the core of many stories had been developed and were well known already by the beginning of the Classical period. In Hesiod's case, the story of his fathering of Stesichorus, his death according to a misunderstood oracle, and the removal of his bones from Locris to Orchomenus were referred to by Pindar, Thucydides and by the author of the (Pythagorean) *Peploi*

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[4] The Homerids shaped Homer's tradition (Pi. in Eustath. in *Il.* 4.17, Acusil. and Hellan. (4 F 20) in Harpocr. Ὁμηρίδαι, Isocr. *Hel.* 65, Pl. *Rep.* 599e, cf. also Pi. *N.* 2.1–5, Pl. *Ion* 530d). See also Burkert 1979, West 1999, Graziosi 2002: 201 ff., etc. The Pythagoreans and Neoplatonists wrote about Pythagoras, see for example Iamblichus' *De Vita Pythagorica liber* and Porphyry's *De Vita Pythagorae*.

[5] See the references to Stesichorus, Pythagoras and Homer in his *VH* 15 and 20–22.

[6] Theag. 8 A 1–4 DK, Arist. fr. 70–77 R. and the lists of his works in pp. 3, 11, 20 R. About Chamaeleon see p. 195 n. 153.

(6th c. BC?), and his father Dios and the rest of his ancestors were represented in a detailed early fifth-century genealogy which took account of his Cymean origin and synchronicity with Homer. Since the synchronism Hesiod-Homer is most probably based on the story of their encounter at a song-contest, the story of their competition at Chalcis must have been known by the beginning of the Classical period, possibly from the work of Lesches (7th c. BC?), supported by Hesiod's own lines in the *Opera* (646–662, see also a parallel reading which mentions Homer).[7] Another version of the story known from verses ascribed to Hesiod (fr. 357 MW), located the contest in Delos. We do not know the date of this fragment, but as it seems to be connected with the creation of the *Hymn to Apollo*, which Thucydides ascribed to Homer, the version of the story of the contest on Delos too may have been known by the beginning of the fifth century. Also Hesiod's authorship of the *Opera* and *Theogony* appears to be strongly established by the fifth century, as Simonides calls Hesiod "a gardener" and says that he told legends of gods and heroes (cf. also Aristophanes *Ran.* 1030).

Also Homer's tradition is of very early origin: in addition to the story of the contest, many accounts of his life were known to the early Classical authors. Anaximenes, Damastes, Simonides and Thucydides mention Chios as his home town, Pindar calls Homer both Chian and Smyrnean, Bacchylides says that Homer came from Ios, for Stesimbrotus he was a Smyrnean, for Hippias a Cymean, and for Callicles a Salaminian.[8] It was known that he was blind (Thucydides), that his father was Maion (Hellanicus, Stesimbrotus), Dmasagoras (Callicles) or a river Meles (Eugaeon, Critias), that he gave the *Cypria* as a dowry to his son-in-law Stasinus (Pindar), and that there were the Homerids on Chios who were named after the poet (Pindar, Hellanicus, Acusilaus).[9] Heraclitus refers to his death and criticizes him, as did Xenophanes and Stesimbrotus as well.[10] Different accounts of his time and his genealogies were in circulation in the fifth century.[11] It was also believed at that time that he composed the

[7] Schol. *Op.* 657a Pertusi.

[8] Anaxim. 72 F 30, Damast. fr. 11 Fowler, Simon. (or Semonides of Amorgus, see Campbell 1991:510 n. 1) eleg. 8 Campbell, Thuc. 3.104.1–6, Pi. fr. 264 Sn.-M., Bacch. fr. 48 Bl., Stesimbr. 107 F 22, Hipp. 6 F 13, Callicl. 758 F 13.

[9] Thuc. 3.104.1–6, Hellan. 4 F 6, Stesimbr. 107 F 22, Callicl. 758 F 13, Eug. fr. 2 Fowler, Crit. in Philostr. *VS* 490, Pi. 265 Sn.-M., *N* 2.1–5 and ap. Eustath. in *Il.* 4.17, Acusil. and Hellan. 4 F 20.

[10] Heracl. 22 B 22,42,56, Xenoph. 21 B 11,12 and in Diog. L. 9.18, Stesimbr. ap Pl. *Ion* 550cd.

[11] Damastes 5 F 11, Hellan. 4 F 5, Pherec. 3 F 167, Gorgias 82 B 25 DK, Hdt. 2.53, Xenoph. in Gell. *NA* 3.11.

Thebaid (Callinus) and *Margites* (Archilochus(?), Cratinus, Aristotle), and the *Cypria* (Pindar), although the latter's ascription to Homer was debated (Herodotus), just as there were doubts about his authorship of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* (believed to be Homer's by Heraclitus(?), Pindar and Herodotus, and questioned by Hellanicus).[12]

In Stesichorus' tradition the pre- and early-Classical elements are his links with the Pythagoreans (cf. the above-mentioned connection with Hesiod known perhaps from Pythagorean work, and the reports that Stesichorus' brothers belonged in their circle), his Himerean origin from an *oikistes* Euclides (mentioned by Thucydides), and the story of his temporary blindness and the palinode (known to Isocrates and Plato, and based probably on his own poetry). Stesichorus' poetry was well enough known to fifth-century Athenian audiences for Aristophanes to splice Stesichorean quotations deliberately (and recognizably to the listener) with his own verses in his comedies.

Also Archilochus' poetry appears to have been well known by the fifth century, as his bad reputation as a pathetic slanderer (based on his own poetry) is mentioned by Pindar and Critias. He too was criticized by Heraclitus. There may have been some stories about his performances in circulation, as Pindar quotes Archilochus' "*Tenella*"-song which was (in later sources) linked to the poet's victory at the contest for the *Hymn to Demeter* on Paros, or to his performance of a *Hymn to Heracles* at Olympia. The synchronism between him and Gyges was firmly established by the time of Herodotus; his connection with the colonization of Thasos was probably known to Xanthus and Critias (mid-fifth century). His initiation to poetry, although first related in detail in a Hellenistic inscription, must have been known in the first part of the fifth century, as it is depicted on a vase from *ca.* 450 BC. Several other details concerning Archilochus in Hellenistic inscriptions (references to his father's and Lycambes' visit to Delphi, the Delphic oracles in the tradition, the trouble over "too iambic" verses at the Dionysiac festival, and his death in the (sea-)battle with the Naxians), were drawn from earlier sources referred to by name (Demeas) or as "they say."[13]

In the case of Hipponax, the earliest extant sources are available from a somewhat later time than in the case of other poets, but it is clear

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[12] Callin. ap. Paus. 9.9.5, Archil. fr. 303, Cratin. fr. 368 K.-A., Arist. *EN* 6.7.2, Pi. fr. 265 Sn.-M., *N* 7.20 f., *P* 4.277 ff., Heracl. 22 A 22 DK, Hdt. 2.117, 4.29, Hellan. 4 F 7.

[13] About Archilochus see the discussion and references in chapter 108.

that the two main topics of his tradition, his connection to choliambic verse and the story of Boupalus, were established by the second part of the fifth century, as Aristophanes quotes (or misquotes) his choliambic verse and mentions Boupalus who should be silenced by beating (*Ran.* 659 ff., *Lys.* 360 f.). Aristophanes may have also been aware of some details of the family of Chian sculptors to which Boupalus and Athenis belonged.[14]

Terpander's reputation as a preeminent musician (and perhaps his connections with Sparta, on which his fame was largely based) may have been mentioned by Sappho, and his reputation as innovator of music was firmly established by Pindar's time. Hellanicus knew about his victory at the Carneian festival in Sparta. Therefore, we have hints that both main topics in Terpander's tradition, his activities in Sparta and his musical inventions, had been formed by the Classical period.[15]

Herodotus refers to "some of the Greeks" when he talks about Rhodopis, a rich courtesan and mistress of Sappho's brother Charaxus. He also knows that Sappho's home was in Mytilene and her father was called Scamandronymus. Another detail in Sappho's tradition, which may have been known by the fifth century (perhaps as an expansion from Sappho's verses) is the story of her leap from the Leucadian cliff, possibly referred to by Anacreon and Euripides. There are also some details which, although known from later sources, are quite plausibly drawn from an earlier tradition: the oracles in Archilochus' tradition; the information that Stesichorus' name was originally Tisias and he had a brother called Helianax; also the story of Hipponax and Iambe was probably known well before Choeroboscus who provides an account of it.

The character of the references by Classical authors to the lives of the poets indicates that the readers were fully aware of the stories. Therefore, the main stories must have been well established some time before they are first mentioned in the extant sources. The number of references and the fact that the same details are often referred to by different sources and in different variations show that not all of them were the inventions of the authors of our sources. It is not unreasonable to assume that the biographical traditions of early poets began to develop in their life time or at least very soon after their death. We have later examples of the process

[14] Aristoph. *Av.* 574 with sch. *ad loc.* There is also a possiblility that a (continuous?) tradition of Hipponax existed in Ephesus up to Callimachus' time, which transmitted his poetry and possibly also accounts of his life, see p. 123.

[15] Chapter 63.

of formation of legends during the poets' life time: Xenophanes called his contemporary Simonides of Ceos a niggard (κίμβιξ), and Pindar's complaint of contemporary poets' love for money was understood as a hint at Simonides' avarice.[16] Anacreon is represented wearing a woman's head-dress on a contemporary vase by the Cleophrades Painter (*ca.* 520 BC), Aristophanes poked fun at Euripides in the *Acharnians* and *Thesmophoriazusae* during his lifetime and in the *Frogs* only a year after the poet's death, and Ion of Chios told about his witty friend Sophocles' fondness for boys in his *Sojournings*.[17] In an environment where not many written texts were around and the poems were performed and transmitted mainly orally, the link between a particular poem and a poet would hardly have persisted, if people had become interested in poets' lives and started to invent the stories about them only long after their death.

In the Hellenistic period and later the already existing stories continued to develop further and, in accordance with already established conventions they were elaborated and enriched with new details: for example, the tyrant against whom Stesichorus warned the Himereans became Gelon instead of Phalaris, the Lycambes story in Archilochus' tradition was enriched with different accounts about the girls' fate. Sometimes the commentators attempted to rationalize the stories which seemed unsuitable or incredible to them: the stories of Sappho's bad reputation induced, for example, the rise of a legend of the second Sappho the courtesan, and Hesiod's own description of his initiation to song was degraded into an allegoric dream.[18] The topics in which the Post-Classical authors seem to have taken special and continuous interest are the chronological speculations on poets' dates, and the issues which followed from the growing scope of research done on the poets' works which led them, for example, to associate particular poets with the "invention" of particular metres and ascribe to them many innovations in poetry and music.[19] We also usually hear of the exile of a poet from later sources.

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[16] Xenoph. (21 B 21 DK) ap. schol. Aristoph. *Pax* 695, Pi. *I* 2.6 ff. with the scholia *ad loc.* See also Bell 1978:34 f. Aristophanes (*Pax* 695) accused Simonides of the same sin not long after the poet's death.

[17] Anacreon: see Boardman 1975:219 and fig. 131, Zanker 1995:24 f. Sophocles: Ion of Chios (392 F 6) ap. Athen. 603e–604d.

[18] Cf. the numerous Homeroi in the *Vita Hesiodi* 3,—an attempt to reconcile the different speculations on Homer's date, on the authorship of his poems, and on the tradition of his synchronicity with Hesiod (whom the author of the *Vita* places four hundred years later than Homer).

[19] See, for example, the long list of various inventions in Plin. *NH* 7.57.

3. *Formulaic themes*

As is apparent from the previous chapters, the biographical traditions of poets contain numerous formulaic themes which are repeated in small variations from tradition to tradition.

One of the traditional elements is certainly the significant (divine or otherwise important) origin. The shared lineage of Hesiod and Homer includes gods (Poseidon, Apollo), a Titan (Atlas), nymphs (Calliope, Methione), poets (Orpheus, Linus, Melanopus), and an *oikistes* (Chariphemus); Homer's separate genealogies add the nymph Cretheis, a river-god Meles, mythological/epic figures Polycaste and Telemachus, an Ietan *daimon*, and a poet Musaeus.[20] Stesichorus was believed to be either the son of Hesiod or Euclides the founder of Himera, Archilochus' father was Telesicles the *oikistes* of Thasos, Terpander was allegedly a descendant of either Hesiod or Homer. Significant origin is very characteristic in the biographies of people of other walks of life too: many heroes have divine ancestors such as Zeus (the ancestor of the Atreids, Heracles, Perseus, Sarpedon, Agenor, Ajax, Peirithous, etc.), Poseidon (allegedly a father of Theseus, and grandfather of Neleus and Pelias), Aphrodite (Aeneas' mother), Nereids and Nymphs (Achilles, Jason).[21] Pythagoras' ancestors include Zeus and Apollo, the seer Teiresias is the son of a nymph Chariclo, the seer Melampus' grandfather is Abas a diviner and "the first man to discover that illnesses could be cured by drugs and purification," and another seer Mopsus' forefathers are Apollo and the above mentioned Teiresias.[22] Significant origin, of course, adds a status and authority to the person, whether a poet, a seer or a hero.

The poetic, musical, or mantic initiation, as a defining event in the life of a poet or seer, is also a recurring theme in their biographical traditions. Hesiod was initiated into song by the Muses on Helicon, Stesichorus when a nightingale sang while sitting on his lips, and Archilochus when he exchanged a cow for the Muses' lyre. Hipponax became inspired when he met Iambe, and Terpander, perhaps, when he received Orpheus' lyre. Aeschylus was said to have started to write tragedies after he had met

[20] For Homer's references see his biographies (see p. 9 n. 5).

[21] Schol. Eur. *Orest.* 5, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.8, 1.4.1, 3.12.2, 3.12.6–7, 3.13.6, *Il.* 14.313 ff., Hes. *Cat.* fr. 140, 141 MW, Plut. *Thes.* 6.1, etc.

[22] Pythagoras: Iambl. *VP* 3–4, 7. Melampus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.2.2. Teiresias: *ibid.* 3.6.7. Mopsus: Apollod. *Epit.* 6.3, Hes. fr. 278 MW and Str. 14.5.16 (675–676).

Dionysus in a dream.[23] Melampus learned the language of birds and the prediction of the future from the snakes who licked his ears and purified them.[24] Helenus and Cassandra too acquired the gift of prophecy with the help of snakes, or according to another account, Helenus learned the art of prophecy from a Thracian soothsayer, and Cassandra received it from Apollo.[25] Sometimes the initiation is linked to the loss of sight as in the case of Homer who received the gift of poetry when Thetis and the Muses took pity on him after he became blinded by the dazzle of Achilles' armour, and in the case of Teiresias to whom the prophetic powers were given as a compensation for the loss of sight either by Athena or Zeus.[26] Blindness, however, is not a very prominent feature in the traditions of poets. Apart from Homer only Thamyris and Stesichorus lost their sight. They were, however, blinded not to balance the initiation but as a punishment for their mistakes. The gift of poetry and music could sometimes also be removed from a poet, cf. the stories of Marsyas and Thamyris who lost their skill because of arrogance, and Cassandra, of whose prophecies Apollo took away the power to convince after she had refused to share his bed with him.[27]

Next, a frequent detail in the biographical traditions is the poet's (seer's etc.) troublesome relationship with authorities: Hesiod's quarrel with greedy and unjust kings was known from his own verses and continued to be referred to; Stesichorus was reported to have been in opposition to Sicilian tyrants; Archilochus and Hipponax fell out with the Parian and Ephesian authorities respectively because of their indecent and harsh verses; Terpander was fined by the Spartan ephors for adding a string to his cithara; Sappho's and Alcaeus' families had problems with the rulers of

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[23] Paus. 1.21.3.

[24] Apollon. 1.65–68; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11.

[25] Eustath. *ad Hom.* pp. 663, 626, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5.

[26] Homer: *Vita Hom.* vi.45 ff., cf. [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 8, and also schol. E ad *Od.* 8.63, in which Moira deprives Homer of his sight and grants him song instead. According to [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 7, Homer lost his sight because of illness. Another story says that as an infant he was fed with honey from the breast of his nurse, the prophetess, daughter of the priest of Isis, and later some birds provided him with ambrosia (Alex. Paph. in Eusth. in *Od.* 1713.17). Teiresias: Pherecydes and Hesiod (fr. 275 MW) in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7, Callim. *Hy.* 5.57 ff., Suda s.v. Τειρεσίας, Eustath. in Hom. p. 1665.42, schol. in *Od.* 10.494, Hygin. *Fab.* 75, cf. Paus. 9.33.1. See also Graziosi 2002:132–133, 138–143 and 148. Also Demodocus, the bard in the *Odyssey*, was deprived of his eyes in exchange for sweet song (*Od.* 8.62 ff.). He, however, is rather a literary figure and has no tradition outside the *Odyssey* and therefore is not quite a comparable to others in this context.

[27] Marsyas: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.2, cf. Hdt. 7.26. Thamyris: *Il.* 2.594 ff., Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.3. Cassandra: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5.

Lesbos.[28] Pythagoras left Samos because of the tyranny of Polycrates, and later had conflicts with the Sicilian tyrants Phalaris and Dionysius, Solon had troubles with Peisistratus, of whose politics he did not approve, and Bias of Priene was in opposition to Alyattes who attempted to conquer his home town.[29] Another group which was constantly tangled in quarrels with rulers is the heroes, as in the legends of Orestes, Jason, Perseus, Theseus, and others.

Travelling from city to city goes with the way of poets' (seers', heroes') life. The master traveller is Homer, but all others travelled as well. Hesiod went, according to different accounts, to Euboea, Delphi, Delos, and Locris, Stesichorus visited the cities in Sicily and South-Italy and went to Arcadia, and Archilochus sailed about the Aegean and to Thasos and sang a song at Olympia. Terpander went to Sparta, Delphi, Egypt, and perhaps also to Lydia, and Sappho travelled to Sicily and Leucas. Only Hipponax' tradition lacks any significant journeys: he is reported to have moved only from Ephesus to Clazomenae. Among other poets, Anacreon had to move to Abdera in Thrace, and later lived in Samos and Athens, Ibycus went from Italy to Samos and Corinth, Alcman and Tyrtaeus were believed to have moved to Sparta, one from Lydia and another from Athens.[30]

The main reason for poets to travel was the participation in song contests at festivals, funeral games, and other occasions which included poetry and singing.[31] The archetypal legend of poetic contest is certainly the one between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis. Comparable stories exist about Arctinus and Lesches who competed in epic poetry, and of the seers Mopsus and Calchas who held a riddle competition in Clarus near Colophon.[32] Both Hesiod and Homer are reported to have wished to enter also the contest at the Pythian games, but were disqualified for not

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[28] About Alcaeus see Str. 13.2.3 (617), Diog. L. 1.74, 2.46, Arist. *Pol.* 1285a, [Acro] on Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.28, Cic. *Tusc.* 4.71, and the fragments of Alcaeus' poetry.

[29] Pythagoras: Iambl. *VP* 11, 189–199, 215–221, Diog. L. 8.3. Solon: Diog. L. 1.49, 51 f., Plut. *Sol.* 29 f. Bias: Diog. L. 1.83.

[30] Anacreon: Suda s.v. Ἀνακρέων and Τέω, and the references in n. 51. Ibycus: Suda s.v. Ἴβυκος, Antip. Sid. in *Anth. Pal.* 7.745. Alcman: Suda s.v. Ἀλκμάν, *Anth. Pal.* 7.18, 7.19, 7.709, schol. B on Alcm. 1.58 f. Tyrtaeus: Pl. *Leg.* 1.629ab and schol. *ad loc.*, Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 106, Paus. 4.15.6, etc.

[31] About the travelling poets see also *Od.* 17.383f, *HyAp* 169–176.

[32] Arctinus and Lesches: Phaenias 299 F 18, Lesches won. Mopsus and Calchas: Hes. fr. 278 MW, Calchas died of disappointment after losing the contest. Cf. also the mock contest between Euripides and Aeschylus in Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

knowing how to sing and play the cithara at the same time.[33] Terpander is said to have taken victories at the Carneian and Pythian festivals, and Archilochus at the contest for the hymn to Demeter in Paros. Orpheus was believed to have won the musical competition at the first Isthmian games, and Chrysothemis and Philammon are listed among the Pythian winners.[34] Different was the outcome for Marsyas and Thamyris at their contests with Apollo and the Muses respectively,—they lost, and Marsyas was consequently flayed alive, whereas Thamyris was deprived of sight and of the power of singing.[35]

Poets had, of course, other reasons for travelling as well: Archilochus travelled as a soldier and went out, just like Semonides of Amorgus and Solon, to found a colony, Terpander and Thaletas were invited to Sparta to heal people and settle conflicts.[36] Travelling is also a characteristic of the seers (for example in the traditions of Melampus, Calchas, Epimenides, Mopsus, Helenus, Pythagoras) and heroes (Theseus, Heracles, Perseus, Jason, etc.). The latter group needed to travel mainly in order to accomplish heroic deeds, such as to kill monsters and highwaymen, and save damsels in distress.

One of the most popular destinations (besides Delphi) was Egypt, where people travelled to perform their music (Terpander) or learn geometry, mysteries and other skills from the local priests and wise men (as in the case of Pythagoras, Melampus, Thales, Solon, Lycurgus).[37] Also Alcaeus is reported to have travelled there and, according to a somewhat esoteric strand of tradition, Homer was born in Egypt.[38] Sappho herself did not go to Egypt, but her brother did and met the courtesan Rhodopis there.

Sometimes the reason for travelling was expulsion after a quarrel with authorities, as happened in case of Archilochus, Hipponax, Sappho and Alcaeus.[39] Terpander had to leave his home town because of a murder,

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[33] Paus. 10.7.2–3.

[34] Favorin. *Corinth.* 14, Paus. 10.7.2.

[35] For the references about Marsyas and Thamyris see 209, n. 27.

[36] Semonides: Suda s.v. Σιμμίας. Solon: Diog. L. 1.51 and the Suda s.v. Σόλων. Thaletas: Plut. *Lyc.* 4, Pratin. 713 iii PMG, cf. Paus. 1.14.4, Ael. *VH* 12.50.

[37] Pythagoras lived and studied 22 years in Egypt: Iambl. *VP* 18–19, 151, 158–159, Diog. L. 8.3. Melampus: Hdt. 2.49, Diod. 1.97. Thales: Diog. L. 1.24,27. Solon: *ibid.* 1.50, Plut. *Sol.* 26.1. Lycurgus: Plut. *Lyc.* 4.5.

[38] Alcaeus: Str. 1.2.30 (37). Homer: Alex. Paph. in Eustath. in *Od.* 1713.17, cf. *Cert.* 3, *Vita Hom.* v.1, *Vita Romana* 2, Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος.

[39] About Alcaeus (and his brother) see Arist. *Pol.* 1285a, Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.21–32, [Acro] on Hor. *ad loc.*, cf. POxy 2506 fr. 98, Favorin. *De exil.* (col.9) 10.2 Barigazzi.

exactly as Hesiod's father had had to do, according to a less known version of tradition. Stesichorus was expelled from Pallantium for an unknown reason. Exile is, in general, one of the most persistent topics in poets' biographical traditions (see also the traditions of Anacreon, Onomacritus, Xenophanes, *et al.*), and is frequently found in legends about heroes (Theseus, Jason, Sarpedon, Neleus, Tydeus, Diomedes, Patroclus, etc.).[40]

In addition to connections created by conflicts and contests, famous persons had story-level links with each other in several other ways too.[41] Sometimes they were believed to have been relatives, as in the case of Homer and Hesiod (cousins), Hesiod and Stesichorus (father-son), Hesiod and Terpander (father-son), Homer and Terpander (ancestor-descendant).[42] Bias and Melampus were brothers, the epic poets Creophylus and Stasinus are both reported to have been the sons-in-law of Homer.[43] The poets had also famous lovers: Archilochus, Hipponax, Anacreon and Alcaeus are all reported to have been the lovers of Sappho, Terpander's beloved was Cepion the musician, and Solon's the young Peisistratus.[44] The poets often had pupils: the above-mentioned Cepion was sometimes identified as Terpander's pupil, Anagora, Gongyla and Eunica as Sappho's pupils, Olympus was the pupil of Marsyas, Arion the pupil of Alcman; Homer's teacher was said to be either Creophylus or Aristeas of Proconnesus, and his pupil was Arctinus.[45] Lasus taught, according to tradition, Pindar to play the lyre and Lamprus was Sophocles' teacher; Thales is said to have taught Lycurgus of Sparta the manner how Rhadamanthys and Minos published their laws.[46] Pythagoras had

[40] Anacreon: Suda s.v. Ἀνακρέων and Τέω, Str. 14.1.30 (644). Onomacritus: Hdt. 7.6. Xenophanes: Diog. L. 9.18–20. Theseus: Plut. *Thes*. 35.3. Jason: Apollod. *Bibl*. 1.9.27 f., Hyg. *Fab*. 24. Sarpedon: Hdt. 1.173, Paus. 7.3.7. Neleus: Apollod. *Bibl*.1.9.9, Diod. 4.68. Tydeus: Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.6.1. Diomedes: Dict. Cret. 6.2. Patroclus: *Il*. 23.85 ff., Apollod. *Bibl*. 3.14.8.

[41] Most of them were connected chronologically as well but these links are chronographical neccessity rather than the expression of traditional elements.

[42] According to an obscure scholium (sch. B (a*) Ov. *Ib*. 521), Archilochus was Hipponax' son-in-law.

[43] Bias: Apollod. *Bibl*. 2.2.2. Creophylus: Suda s.v. Κρεώφυλος, cf. Plat. *Resp*. 10.600b with schol., Procl. *Vita Hom*. p. 100, Eustath. in *Il*. p. 330.43, Tz. *Chil*. 13.652, schol. Tz. *Ex Il*. 37.25, Iambl. *VP* 11, Apul. *Flor*. 15.16. Stasinus: Ael. *VH* 9.15, Tz. *Chil*. 13.637 f., Phot. *Bibl*. 319a34, cf. Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος.

[44] Solon: Plut. *Sol*. 1.

[45] Olympus: schol. Aristoph. *Eq*. 9(d). Arion: Suda s.v. Ἀρίων. Creophylus: Str. 14.1.18 (638), Eust. in *Il*. p. 330.43. Aristeas: Eustath. *loc. cit*. Arctinus: Artemon (fr. 33 W) in Clem. Alex. *Strom*. 1.131.6.

[46] Lasus: schol. Pi. 1.4 Dr. (*Vita Thomana*). Lamprus: Athen. 1.20e. Thales: Eph. 70 F 149.

several famous teachers, such as Creophylus, the latter's descendant or pupil Hermodamas, Pherecydes of Syros, Thales of Miletus, Epimenides of Crete, but also the Egyptian priests, Chaldean magi, Phoenician hierophants, and Delphic priestess Themistoclea.[47] In turn, Pythagoras himself had many disciples, just as Homer had the Homerids, Creophylus the Creophylids, and Hesiod "those around him."[48] Linus taught music to Heracles, but in general, the heroes were usually sent to Cheiron for education.[49] Then there are stories about one famous figure meeting another: Lycurgus was said to have visited Homer on Chios and received his epics from him, Solon met Croesus, Anacharsis and Aesop; Thales helped the army of Croesus to pass the river Halys by turning the course of water; all the Seven Wise Men are reported to have met in Delphi, Corinth, Sardis, or at the Panionium on Mount Mycale.[50] Some poets were reported to have lived in the courts of tyrants in great luxury: Ibycus and Anacreon belonged in the court of Polycrates and his father, Anacreon later moved from Samos to the court of Hipparchus where also Simonides lived for a while.[51] After Hipparchus' death Simonides, along with Aeschylus, was summoned to Syracuse by Hiero.[52]

Oracles are frequently found in biographical traditions. Hesiod was warned that he would die at the temple of Nemean Zeus, and there were also two oracles concerning the fate of his remains. Archilochus' tradition includes a prophecy about the poet's immortality, two oracles concerning the colonization of Thasos, another one commanding the

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[47] Iambl. *VP* 9, 11, 14, 18, 19, 151, 158–159, Diog. L. 8.2–3, 8.

[48] Pythag. Iambl. and Porph. *VP passim*. The Homerids: see the references in p. 203 n. 4. The Creophylids: Arist. fr. 611.10 R., Plut. *Lyc.* 4.5, Porph. *VP* 1, 15, Iambl. *VP* 11, Diog. L. 8.2, Apul. *Flor.* 15.16. Hesiod: Arist. *Met.* B 4 p. 1000a9, Pollux 5.42.

[49] Linus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.2. Cheiron: Pi. *N.* 3.94 (Jason), *Il.* 11.831 f., [Hes.] fr. 204.87 ff. MW, Pi. *N.* 3.43–53, Apollod. *Bibl.* 13.3.6 (Achilles), 3.4.4 (Actaeon), 3.10 3, Pi. *loc. cit.* (Asclepius), Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.3–4 (Peleus).

[50] Lycurgus: Eph. 70 F 149, cf. Arist. 611.10 R., and Plut. *Lyc.* 4.3 f., according to which Lycurgus received Homer's epics from the descendants of Creophylus, cf. also Ael. *VH* 13.14. Solon: Hdt. 1.30 ff., Plut. *Sol.* 5, 27 f., Diog. L. 1.50. Thales: Diog. L. 1.38. The Seven Sages: Plut. *Sol.* 4.1, Diog. L. 1.40, see also the story of the tripod which circulated among the Wise Men: Plut. *Sol.* 4.2, Diog. L. 1.28, 82.

[51] Paus. 1.2.3, Ael. *VH* 9.1,4, Str. 14.1.16 (638), Plut. *Mor.* 604f, [Pl.] *Hipp.* 228bc. The reports, or some of the reports of famous people meeting each other, just as some of the accounts of travelling, exile, and origin, may be historically correct, in which case they cannot be strictly regarded as formulaic motifs in the particular biographies. Formulaic themes often reflect what the story-tellers regarded as typical and appropriate for a particular type of illustrious persons. Sometimes the story-tellers may have even had in mind some historical exemplum which they then applied to other figures.

[52] Paus. *loc. cit.*, *Vita Aeschyli*, p. 332 Page OCT.

Parians to honour the poet, two oracles given to his killer, and one more concerning the establishment of the Hellenistic cult of the poet. In Terpander's tradition there is an oracle for the Spartans to send for the Lesbian poet in order to be reconciled among themselves again. Homer's tradition includes four oracles: an obscure prophecy about his future fame given by his Egyptian nurse, two different Pythian oracles given to Homer about his native land and his death, and one given allegedly to the emperor Hadrian about the poet's origin.[53] Oracles are to be found also in the traditions of Pythagoras, Calchas, Solon, Lycurgus, of heroes such as Theseus, Achilleus, Perseus, Jason, Heracles, Orestes, and others, and of the tyrants Periander, Peisistratus, Polycrates, Croesus, *et al.*

According to Virgil, Hesiod could call ash trees down the mountain sides with his song. The power over creatures and natural phenomena has parallels in other stories about seers and poets: Orpheus charmed tigers and moved rocks and trees by singing and playing the lyre, Melampus understood the language of birds and animals, and Homer evoked adverse winds on the sea and caused fire by his song.[54] Amphion built the walls of Thebes by making the rocks to roll in their place by the power of music, and Pythagoras mastered wild animals, birds and snakes, calmed storms, and was greeted by the river Nessus.[55]

Poetic, musical and mantic skills are frequently used for healing diseases or for restoring peace, as is clearly visible from the traditions of Terpander, Archilochus, Hesiod, Homer, Stesichorus, Thaletas, Tyrtaeus, Alcman, Arion, Pythagoras, Melampus, and Epimenides.[56] Even the bones, especially the remains of heroes, were often believed to have beneficial powers, and therefore their location had to be kept secret, so that those who wanted to find it could do it only by divine help. The

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[53] Alex. Paphius in Eustath. ad *Od.* 1713.17, *Cert.* 3 and 5, [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* I.4, Procl. *Vita Hom.* 4 and 5.

[54] Orpheus: Verg. *Georg.* 4.510, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.2, Eur. *Backh.* 561 ff., Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.23–34, Diod. Sic. 4.25.2–4, Paus. 9.30.4. Melampus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11–12. Homer: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 256–275, 421–429.

[55] Amphion: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5. Pythagoras: Iambl. *VP* 60–62, 134–135, 142, Diog. L. 8.11.

[56] Hesiod and Homer: Iambl. *VP* 111 (=164). Thaletas: Pratinas in [Plut.] *Mus.* 42.1146b, Paus. 1.14.4, Ael. *VH* 12.50. Tyrtaeus and Alcman: Ael. *loc. cit.* Arion: Boeth. *Inst. mus.* 1.1. Pythagoras: Iambl. *VP* 64–65, 68, 110, 112, 135, 164. Melampus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.12, 2.2.2, Diod. 4.68, Paus. 2.18.4. Epimenides: Diog. L. 1.110. Cf. the story of Oedipus who was promised the throne of Thebes, if he restored the normal life in the city by solving the Sphinx' riddle (Soph. *OT* 380–403, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.8). Achilles healed Telephus' wound (*Cy.* arg. 7, Apollod. *Epit.* 3.17, 20, cf. *Il.* 11.832).

Spartans, for example, when they could not prevail in the war against Tegea, were instructed by the Pythia to bring the bones of Orestes to Sparta, and the Athenians were directed to take the bones of Theseus from Scyrus as a remedy to help overcome plague or famine or, as it stands in another strand of tradition, the bones of Theseus which protected Scyrus against enemies had to be removed from the city before the Athenians could conquer it.[57] The location of Oedipus' grave in Colonus had to be kept in secret in order to keep the country safe.[58] Among the traditions of poets, the feature of beneficial bones is visible in Hesiod's tradition, whose remains were brought, by the advice of the Delphic oracle, from Ascra or Locris to Orchomenus in order to cure plague.

Another feature which Hesiod shares with some other poets, famous seers and heroes, is the existence of animal-helpers in his tradition. Hesiod's body was carried to the shore by dolphins, exactly as the body of young Melicertes which was eventually buried by Sisyphus, and in whose honour the Isthmian Games were established.[59] Arion was rescued by a dolphin from the hands of Corinthian sailors who wanted to rob his gold and kill him.[60] A dog helped to identify the murderers of Hesiod, and another dog, called Maera, helped to find Icarius' body.[61] Of the birds, cranes ensured that vengeance was taken on the murderers of Ibycus, a crow guided the Orchomenias to the place where Hesiod's bones lay, and an eagle sent by the Pythia helped the Athenians who were looking for the bones of Theseus.[62] Melampus the seer was helped by snakes, woodworms and a vulture.[63]

Inventiveness is another strong characteristic in biographical traditions of poets. The πρῶτος εὑρετής of choliambic metre was Hipponax; the iambic metre was ascribed either to Hipponax, Semonides or

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[57] The Spartan story: Hdt.1.67 f. The Athenian story: Plut. *Cimon* 8, *Theseus* 36, sch. on Aristid. 46.241. The Spartans were also instructed by an oracle to bring the bones of Orestes' son Tisamenus from Achaean Helice to Sparta (Paus. 2.18.6–8 and 7.1.8, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.8.2–3, cf. Fontenrose 1978: 74 f.).

[58] Soph. *OC* 1756–1767.

[59] Pi. fr. 6.5 Sn.-M.; Arist. fr. 637 R.; Plut. *Mor.* 677b; Paus. 1.44.11, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.3.

[60] Hdt. 1.24, Plut. *Mor.* 160d; cf. the alleged song of thanksgiving by Arion, in PMG 939. See also the story of Coeranus, a good-hearted Parian man who was saved from distress at sea by dolphins whom he had some time before rescued and set free (Plut. *Mor.* 984f–985b, cf. Archil. fr. 192, Phylarchus 81 F 26, Ael. *NA* 8.3).

[61] The story of Icarius: Hyg. *Astron.* 2.4, Paus. 9.38.4.

[62] Ibycus: *Anth. Pal.* 7.745, Plut. *Mor.* 509f, Suda s.v. Ἴβυκος. The Athenians: Plut. *Mor.* 162ef, Paus. 9.38.3–4, cf. Fontenrose 1978:73–74 and Q164.

[63] Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11–12, cf. Paus. 4.5.3.

Archilochus, and the latter was believed to have created many other metres and poetical techniques.[64] To Stesichorus the invention of hymns, several metres and new themes in poetry were assigned, Terpander was responsible for many musical innovations, and Sappho was regarded as the inventor of the *pectis* and the plectrum. The *Mixolydian* mode was believed to have been invented either by Terpander, Sappho or Phytocleides, and the hendecasyllabic ("Sapphic") metre by Sappho or Alcaeus.[65] Herodotus makes Hesiod and Homer responsible for composing the first Greek theogonies and giving names to Greek gods.[66] The stringed instrument *sambyce* was, according to tradition, made by Ibycus, several nomes and rhythms were ascribed to Olympus, Polymnestus and Thaletas, the dithyramb to Arion, and the elegiac couplet either to Callinus, Archilochus or Mimnermus.[67] Amphion was believed to have invented music in general, Pan the flute with a single pipe, and Marsyas the double-pipe.[68] The seers, too, were creative: Teiresias, they say, discovered divination by entrails of birds, Amphiaraus divination by fire, Epimenides was the first to build temples and to purify buildings and land.[69] Pythagoras made many discoveries in mathematics and music, was the first to introduce weights and measures into Greece, to declare that the Evening and Morning Stars are the same, to call the universe *kosmos*, to use the word "philosopher," to call the earth spherical, and so on.[70]

It seems that famous people were usually believed to have lived a long life. Hesiod's lifetime, as we know, is reported to have been exceptionally long and to have included two periods of youth. Stesichorus, whose statue at Thermae represented him as a bent old man, was said to have died at the age of eighty-five. Homer was almost always represented as an

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[64] About the πρῶτος εὑρετής motif and the *heuremata*-literature in general see Kleingünther 1933.

[65] Phytocleides the aulete as the inventor of the Mixolydian mode: [Plut.] *Mus.* 16.1136d.

[66] Hdt. 2.53. Hexameter was believed to be the invention of Phemonoe the daughter of Apollo and the first Pythia (Paus. 10.5.7, cf. Plin. *NH* 7.57), the Pleiades (Paus. 10.12.10), Phantothea the wife of Icarius, or the Titaness Themis (both in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.74–80).

[67] Suda s.v. Ἴβυκος and Ἀρίων, Athen. 4.175de, [Plut.] *Mus.* 5.1133ab, 7.1133df, 10.1134d, 11.1134f, 29.1141b, 33.1143a, cf. Str. 10.4.16 (480–481), Hdt. 1.23, Orion *Lex.* s.v. ἔλεγος.

[68] Plin. *NH* 7.57 which contains a long list of various inventions of many fields. Another list of inventions is in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.16.74–80. About the *heuremata*-catalogues see Kleingünther 1933:143–151.

[69] Plin. *NH* 7.57, Diog. L. 1.112.

[70] Iambl. *VP* 58, 115–121, 159, 161, Diog. L. 8.14, 46f.

old man, Simonides of Ceos is reported to have lived either eighty-nine, ninety or more years, Anacreon for eighty-five, Solon and Periander both for eighty years.[71] Both Bias the wise man of Priene and Chilon of Sparta are reported to have died in their extreme old age.[72] Pythagoras' life span was said to have reached eighty or almost a hundred years, Thales lived either seventy-eight or ninety years, and Pittacus over seventy, eighty or a hundred years.[73] Teiresias was granted up to seven or nine generations, Sarpedon three, and Nestor over two generations; Epimenides' life lasted, according to different accounts, either 150, 154, 157, 190, or 299 years, of which he spent fifty-seven or ninety years sleeping.[74] Exceptional among our poets are Archilochus who was (believed to have been) killed in battle and therefore could not live to old age, and Sappho whose tradition of suicide seems to have been strong enough to overrule her own remarks about her old age. We have no direct information about the length of Terpander's life, but as he was believed to have taken victories at four Pythian games, he could not have died young.[75] There is no information about Hipponax' age in ancient sources.

None of our poets died a natural death. On the contrary, dying of most bizarre causes seems to be one of the strongest formulaic elements in traditions. Hesiod and Stesichorus were murdered, Archilochus died in battle or in the hands of the people he had insulted in his verses, or commited suicide, Hipponax either starved to death or hanged himself, Terpander was suffocated by a fig and Anacreon by a single pip, and Sappho leapt to her death.[76] There are many comparable examples in the stories about other notable persons. Ibycus for example was killed by highwaymen and Alcaeus is reported to have fallen in battle.[77] Pythagoras was, according to some accounts, murdered by the Crotonian mob. Alternatively he may have starved himself to death out of despair at the

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71 Homer: *Cert. passim*, Procl. *Vita Hom.* 8, etc. Simonides: Suda s.v. Σιμωνίδης [ς,439], *Marmor* Ep. 57, [Lucian.] *Macrob.* 26. Anacreon: [Lucian.] *ibid.*, cf. Val. Max. 9.12 ext. 8. Solon: Diog. L. 1.62. Periander: *ibid.* 1.95.

72 Bias: Diog. L. 1.84f. Chilon: *ibid.* 1.72.

73 Pythagoras: Iambl. *VP* 265, Diog. L. 8.46. Thales: *ibid.* 1.37f. Pittacus: Diog. L. 1.79, Suda s.v. Πιττακός, [Lucian.] *Macrob.* 18.

74 Teiresias: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7, cf. Paus. 9.33.1, Tz. *On Lycophr.* 682 and Hes. fr. 276 MW. Sarpedon: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.2. Nestor: *Il.* 1.250. Epimenides: Diog. L. 1.109, 111, Suda s.v. Ἐπιμενίδης.

75 See p. 164 n. 149.

76 Anacreon: Val. Max. 9.12. ext.8.

77 Ibycus: Ibycus: Suda s.v. Ἴβυκος, Antip. Sid. in *Anth. Pal.* 7.745, Plut. *Mor.* 509e–510a, Phot. *Bibl.* 148b, cf. Iambl. *VP* 126. Alcaeus: POxy 2506 fr. 98.

death of his disciples and extinction of his school. Again he was said to have died during the war between Agrigentum and Syracuse, when while fleeing he chose not to cross a field of beans and was killed.[78] Sophocles was choked to death by a grape or, according to other versions, he died either because of overjoy at obtaining a victory at a drama contest, or because he sustained his voice so long without a pause that he lost his breath at the public recitation of the *Antigone* and died.[79] Drusus the son of the emperor Claudius was choked by a pear.[80] Homer and Calchas both died of sadness over a failure to solve a riddle, Chilon of Sparta, on the other hand, died of overjoy when his son was victorious in boxing at the Olympic games.[81] Lycurgus was said to have starved himself to death in Delphi where he had travelled after he had exacted an oath from the Spartans that they would keep his laws until he should return.[82] Another law-giver, Zaleucus of Locri, committed suicide after he had breached the law made by himself that no citizen could enter the Senate house in arms.[83] Aeschylus was hit and killed by a falling tortoise, Euripides was torn in pieces by hounds and Orpheus by the Thracian women; Alcman and Pherecydes of Syros died of *phtheiriasis*, an infestation by lice.[84] Also most heroes were killed. As we can see, according to biographical traditions, to die a terrible or unusual death is almost inevitable for famous people whether they are poets, law-givers, soothsayers or heroes.

Finally, the legends of poets' lives sometimes gave rise to proverbial expressions. Old age came to be referred to as "Hesiodic" (τὸ Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας), about those who reviled others it was said that they "trample on Archilochus" (Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς), people who came off second best were

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[78] Pythagoras: Diog. L. 8.39,40, Arnob. *Adv. gent.* 1.40, Porph. *VP* 56,57, cf. Iambl. *VP* 249, Diog. L. 8.41,45. According to another story, Pythagoras' throat was cut at the edge of a bean-field near Croton (Diog. L. 8.39).

[79] Ister and Neanthes in the *Vita Anon.*

[80] Plin. 7.5, Val. Max. 9.12.8, Suet. *Claud.* 27.

[81] Homer: Arist. fr. 76 R., *Cert.* 18 (lines 315 ff. Allen), [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 36, [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* i.4, Procl. *Vita Hom.* 5 (p. 100 Allen), *Vita Hom.* v and vi, etc. Calchas: Str. 14.1.27 (642) (Hes. fr. 278 MW), 14.4.3 (688) and 14.5.16 (675–676), cf. Serv. ad Verg. *Eclog.* 6.72, in which Calchas dies on account of a misunderstood prophecy. Chilon: Diog. L. 1.72.

[82] Plut. *Lyc.* 29.3 f. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 62.

[83] According to Suda (s.v. Ζάλευκος) he fell fighting for his country.

[84] Aeschylus: Suda s.v. Αἰσχύλος and Χελώνη μυιῶν. Euripides: Suda s.v. Εὐριπίδης. Orpheus: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.2, Paus. 9.30.3, Ov. *Met.* 11.1 ff., etc. Alcman: Arist. *Hist. an.* 556b–557a. Pherecydes: Phot. *Bbil.* 553a, Iambl. *VP* 184 and 252.

"not quite as good as the Lesbian singer," i.e. Terpander (μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν). If somebody was completely devoid of culture and education, he was said not to know even the "three [verses/strophes] of Stesichorus" (τρία Στησιχόρου), and the shape of Stesichorus' magnificent tomb in Catana was turned into an expression "all eight" (πάντα ὀκτώ) which was used in card games as a name of a throw which came to eight. Ibycus' tradition gave besides the well-known "cranes of Ibycus" (derived from his death story) an expression "ἀρχαιότερος / ἀνοητότερος Ἰβύκου" which was used of hopelessly stupid people.[85] "The way of Chilon" (Χιλώνειος τρόπος) referred to brief Spartan style of speech, "Ἐπιμενίδειον δέρμα" was used in reference to secrets and was derived from a story according to which long after Epimenides' death his skin was found, covered with tattooed letters which no one could read.[86] Pythagoras' tradition contains numerous proverbs, such as "The long-haired lad of Samos" (τὸν ἐκ Σάμου κομήτην), "Humans are bipeds, and birds, and a third besides" (ἄνθρωπος δίπος ἐστὶ καὶ ὄρνις καὶ τρίτον ἄλλο)—both referring to Pythagoras as someone special and worthy of great respect; "They belong to the Pythagoreans" (τῶν Πυθαγορείων εἰσί) was used of those showing each other unusual goodwill, and "These are not Ninon's times" (οὐ τάδε ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Νίνωνος) refers to the man who cruelly persecuted the Pythagoreans.[87] From the countless accounts of Theseus' exploits rose a proverb "Not without Theseus" (οὐκ ἄνευ Θησέως), and he himself and a man comparable to him was called "another Heracles" (ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς).[88]

Therefore, the biographical traditions are shaped according to formulaic themes. A closer look at them reveals, however, that even though figures of different walks of life often share some of the formulaic topics, each "profession" seems to attract a characteristic set of formulaic themes at the same time. Whereas travelling, death under unusual circumstances, quarrels with authorities, significant origin and links with other "celebrities" occur again and again in traditions of almost every poet, seer, tyrant, wise man, or hero, the poets seem to have been believed

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[85] Suda s.v. Ἴβυκος, Diogen. 2.71 and 5.12 Leutsch & Schn.

[86] Chilon: Suda s.v. Χίλων. Epimenides: *ibid.* s.v. Ἐπιμενίδης.

[87] Iambl. *VP* 11, 30, 144, 230 and 264.

[88] Plut. *Thes.* 29.3. I have not found a proverb about Homer. The lines of his poems, however, sometimes became proverbial: e.g. "πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἓν μέγα" ("the fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing") which was ascribed either to Homer or Archilochus (*Paroem. Graeci*, Z V.68 Leutsch & Scheidewin).

to be, in addition, poor but generally more inventive people than others, they have usually experienced an initiation into their art, they have pupils, they take part in song contests and are often banished from their home towns. They also have some power over the natural phenomena, their deeds give rise to numerous proverbs, and they are sometimes honoured with a cult after their death. The seers are represented typically as wise and wealthy people who write poetry, have famous teachers and take part in politics. They are usually initiated into their art and possess, similarly to the poets, a power over natural phenomena. The wise men or sages are typically witty and wealthy old men who have learned their wisdom in Egypt, they are law-givers or judges, counsellors and teachers, they compose poems and utter maxims. They also belong roughly in the same time, the first part of the sixth century.[89] The tyrants, on the other hand, are traditionally powerful, wealthy, often wise, and sometimes cruel people whose life is guided by oracles. Their personal life is usually unhappy. Characteristic of heroes is that they grow up abroad, their name is changed at some point of their life, they have many lovers and children, they tend to kill a close relative and are often exiled. They found new cities, take part in contests,[90] sometimes use magical objects, and after their death their bones have beneficial powers and they are honoured by an important hero-cult. Their traditions too almost always include oracles. The typical topics, arranged roughly by the frequency of occurrence in different traditions are listed in the following table.[91]

[89] Martin (1988) distinguishes the skill to write poetry and perform it and the involvment in politics as characteristic features of the Seven Sages. By these criteria only, however, Stesichorus (who is never listed among the Wise Men) would come very close to filling the requirements of a Sage.

[90] Hero-contests were in skills useful in heroes' everyday life which was full of chasing monsters, punishing highwaymen, stealing, fighting, and rescuing princesses. The athletic contests for heroes included wrestling, armed duelling, boxing, foot-race with or without full armour, throwing of discus and javelin, archery, riding and chariot race. About hero-contest see Favorinus *Corinth.* 14 (the first Isthmian Games), *Il.* book 23 (the funeral games of Patroclus), Verg. *Aen.* book 5 (the funeral games of Anchises), and Paus. 5.17.9–11 (the funeral games of Pelias).

[91] The "links with others" stands for the connections with other notable persons either on story-level or in chronography. The "two or more persons" means that some strands of tradition provide two or more persons under the same name owing to rationalization of the tradition. Cf. the two Sapphos (the poetess and the courtesan), and the three Homeroi. "Divine/immortal" means that the person is called divine or immortal in the tradition. See the Appendix for the references.

Table 8.1: Formulaic themes in the traditions of different "professions."

Poets	**Seers**	**Wise Men**	**Tyrants**	**Heroes**
[Poetry]	[Clairvoyance]	[Wisdom]	[Politics]	[Heroic deeds]
Travelling	Links with others	Links with others	[General at war]	Travelling
Links with others	Wisdom	Maxims	Links with others	Quarrels
Inventions	Travelling	Unusual death	Travelling	Significant origin
Unusual death	Quarrels	Poetry	Wisdom	Cult
Initiation	Significant origin	Old age	Oracles	Oracles
Exile	Unusual death	Politics	Contests/single combats	Grows up abroad
Quarrels	Initiation	Law-giver/judge	Proverbs	Many lovers and children
Significant origin	Cult	One of the 7 Wise Men	Old age	Unusual death
Power over nat. phen.	Inventions	Travelling	Supports arts	Links with others
(Song) contests	Contests (in wisdom)	Significant origin	Unhappy personal life	Exile
Pupils	Politics	Wit	Poetry	(Hero) contests
Poverty	*Oikistes*	Inventions	Unusual death	Proverbs
Proverbs	Power over nat. phen.	Quarrels	Quarrels	Change of name
Wisdom	Old age	Egypt	Significant origin	Politics
Cult	Oracles	Wealth	Two or more persons	*Oikistes*
Old age	Egypt	Cult	Wealth	General at war
Oracles	Two or more persons	Pupils	Maxims	Kills a close relative
Visiting Egypt	Wealth	Proverbs	Law-giver/judge	Establishes a festival or rite
Two or more persons	Teachers	Oracles	One of the 7 Wise Men	Magical objects
Change of name	Own oracle	Establishes a festival or rite	Kills a close relative	Teachers
Blindness	Pupils	Poverty	Establishes a festival or rite	Poetry
Politics	Proverbs	Two or more persons	Cruel	Egypt
Oikistes	Change of name	Blindness	Exile	Divine/ immortal
Teachers	Blindness	*Oikistes*	Egypt	Inventions
Divine/ immortal	Animal-helpers	Clairvoyance	Wit	Initiation
Animal-helpers	Divine/ immortal	Teachers	Heroic deeds	Unhappy personal life
	Maxims	Supports arts		
	Law-giver/judge			
	One of the 7 Wise Men			
	General at war			
	Many lovers and children			
	Establishes a festival or rite			
	Magical objects			

In recent scholarship the representation of the poets in ancient sources has often been compared to the representation of the heroes, and it has been concluded that the poets were perceived, worshipped and honoured as "new" heroes.[92] This is true if we read the word "hero" as a "significant person in the community." However, if we compare the "professions" of poets and heroes we see that while the poets do indeed share some of the formulaic themes with the heroes in their traditions, such as participation in contests (Hesiod, Homer, Archilochus, Terpander), founding cities (Archilochus, Semonides, Solon), beneficial powers of their bones (Hesiod), the change of name (Homer, Stesichorus), and existence of (Hellenistic) cult (in Hesiod's, Homer's and Archilochus' case), their traditions have their own distinctive set of formulaic themes (initiation, inventions, pupils, poverty, power over nature, etc.). Therefore it is not quite correct to say that the poets were, as a whole, perceived as heroes, at least not in pre-Hellenistic times.[93] As a whole each 'professional' group seems to have had distinctive traditional features in

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[92] Lefkowitz 1978, 1981, Clay 2004, Zanker 1995:158 ff., Currie 2005:129–130, *et al.*

[93] The two sources sometimes brought as a support for the view of the heroization of poets (e.g. in Currie 2005:129–130), Empedocles 31 B 146 DK and Pindar fr. 133 are about the doctrine of metempsychosis rather than the worship of poets. Both passages are also general, giving no evidence about the "heroization" of any particular poet. Pindar says that in the ninth year the souls of athletes go back to earth and become kings, "men swift in strength and greatest in wisdom," and are called holy heroes. He gives no details about the existence of any cult of the σοφοί. Empedocles maintains that the souls of seers, poets, healers and chiefs become "gods,"—not linking them with heroes at all. On Alcidamas' account about honouring the poets in different cities, see p. 108 above. The only archaic poets in whose case it is possible to accept the existence of pre-Hellenistic formal cult on the basis of the evidence we have, are Homer and Hesiod, even though the sources referring to their cult are late (Alcaeus of Messene, Aelian, the *Certamen*). In Hesiod's case, the tradition about his death in Locris is so early and detailed that the existence of his cult in some form at the precinct of Nemean Zeus in Locris is quite plausible (see p. 35). The *Certamen* (ch. 17) reports that the leaders of Argos, being exceedingly delighted with the praise of their race by Homer, set up a bronze statue of the poet and introduced a daily, monthly and yearly sacrifice for Homer, and also sent another offering every fifth year to Chios in honour of him. They revered him, however, as a poet, not as a hero: cf. Aelian (*VH* 9.15) who maintains that the Argives ranked all other poets second to Homer, and when they sacrificed they invited Apollo and Homer to their feasts. In addition there are two late accounts about the cult of the mythical Orpheus and Linus the son of Urania and Amphimarus: Conon reports (26 F 45) that Orpheus' head was buried in a *heroon* (the tomb of a hero) but later the place became a *hieron* (a temple of a god) and he was offered sacrifices that the gods receive (cf. Philostr. *Her*. 28.8–12). According to Pausanias (9.29.6), people offered sacrifices (ἐναγίζουσι) to Linus before they offered sacrifices (πρὸ τῆς θυσίας) to the Muses every year in Thespiae.

addition to the overlapping ones, and the poets were perceived and honoured rather as poets, seers as seers, wise men as wise men, tyrants as tyrants, and heroes as heroes.[94]

Another aspect the modern commentators have been interested in is the value of biographical traditions as historical documents. Owing to the formulaic framework of the traditions, to the ambiguous meaning of the first person statements in early poetry, and to the nature of other sources, which did not always concern themselves with strict historical veracity, it is clear that the stories and details in them should not be taken at face value. It would be equally incorrect to say, however, that the biographical traditions may not contain any truth at all, or in other words, that we cannot know anything about early Greek poets' lives.[95] There is no reason to doubt too much that Hesiod lived in Ascra; that Stesichorus came from Himera and Archilochus' home was on Paros where he served as a soldier, that he spent some time of his life on Thasos, had a friend called Glaucus, and was killed in a battle. In the same way, Sappho was in all probability born in Mytilene and Terpander in Antissa, and the latter probably visited Sparta during his life. Hipponax was probably an Ephesian and aquainted with the family of Chian sculptors in which Boupalus belonged. Terpander was certainly a prominent and celebrated citharode whose songs on traditional themes were set mainly in dactylic metre, and he may well have won the Carneian song-contest and made some important innovations in music. It is very likely that Sappho's father was called Scamandronymus and brother Charaxus, and among her friends were Gongyla, Atthis, Anactoria and Mica.[96] At the same time, of course, there are many fictional details in the traditions. Therefore, even though biographical traditions of early poets include many fictional and

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[94] Compton (2006) argues that poets were perceived as scapegoats, warriors and heroes in Greco-Roman society. But the traditions of poets are rich in all kinds of motifs and if one sets one's mind to it, one can easily find references to show that the poets may have been perceived as scapegoats, but also as travellers, inventors, rebels, and so on. It is therefore misleading to isolate a particular feature or features in this way. See also Lefkowitz' review (2007) of Compton's book.

[95] E.g. Lefkowitz 1978 and 1981.

[96] Homer's tradition is formulaic and complex to the greatest extent. The most plausible elements in his tradition are that he lived on the coast of Greek Asia Minor, and composed traditional hexametric epic poetry primarly on the theme of the Trojan War. The best attested candidates for his home town are Smyrna, Chios and Cyme, he may have been blind and called Melesigenes as a boy, and he may have had a tomb on Ios. Everything in Homer's tradition is, however, highly controversial and questionable from the point of view of historical veracity. About Homer's tradition see Kivilo 2010.

formulaic details and story-patterns, and great care is needed while trying to distinguish between plausible details and sheer fiction in traditions, we may still be able to learn something of the historical personalities.[97] Even so, however, the results of such speculations will always remain open to debate.

[97] See also Fairweather 1974:275, Compton 2006:323–324.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

The following conclusions from the previous chapters may be emphasized:

- The creators of the biographical traditions of the poets were people who performed, listened to and studied this poetry.
- The traditions of poets, as well as those of seers, tyrants, sages and heroes, were formed by using regular story-patterns which, although overlapping in details to a certain extent, form characteristic sets of formulaic themes for the particular profession. In that respect, the process of the formation of early biographical traditions is not dissimilar to the development of epic poetry and myths.
- The details drawn from poets' verses, local traditions, chronicles and other sources were fitted into the traditional patterns and gave each tradition its individual character. One of the most important sources of the information about a particular poet was his or her own poetry. However, not all the details in the tradition are taken from poetry and not all "biographical" references in the poems were further developed into accounts about the poet's life.
- The traditions began to form very soon after the deaths of the poets, and at least in some cases even while they were still alive. Most of the main stories had been formed by or during the Classical period, as is clear from the references in ancient authors' works. The early formation is supported also by the existence of shared motifs between the stories about poets and other types of celebrities. The traditions were continuously embellished with new details by later authors, right to the end of antiquity.
- The first attempts to write down the continuous accounts of poets' lives were made in the end of the sixth century (Theagenes' treatise on Homer), and in the Classical period (Aristotle's works on poets, for example), but as none of these works has survived, the only available information on the earlier, orally developed strands of tradition is in the fragmentary and scattered references in the works of mostly Classical and postclassical authors.

– Some accounts in the traditions may be authentic and the ultra-pessimistic view that we cannot possibly know anything about the archaic poets' life is not entirely justified. However, it is usually very difficult to separate historically reliable information from formulaic conventions and pure fiction.

APPENDIX

1. Formulaic themes attested in the traditions of poets.

	Hes.	Stes.	Archil.	Hipp.	Terp	Sa.	Hom
[Poetry]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Links with other figures	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Travelling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Inventions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Unusual death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Initiation	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	+
Quarrels with authorities	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
Exile	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Significant origin	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
Power over natural phenomena	+	+	+	–	+	-	+
Cult	+	(+)	+	–	–	–	+
Contests	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
Pupils	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
Poverty	+	–	+	+	–	–	+
Wisdom	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
Proverbs	+	+	+	–	+	–	(+)
Old age	+	+	–	–	–	(–)	+
Oracles	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
Egypt	–	–	–	–	+	(brother)	+
Two or more persons	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
Change of name	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
Blindness	–	(+)	–	–	–	–	+
Politics	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
Oikistes	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Animal-helpers	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Divine/immortal	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Teachers	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Wealth	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Maxims	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Clairvoyance	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Law-giver or a judge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Own oracle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
One of the Seven Sages	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
General at war	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grows up abroad	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Heroic deeds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Many lovers and children	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Kills a close relative	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Establishes a festival or rite	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Magical objects	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Supports arts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cruel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unhappy personal life	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

2. Seers. (The table includes the data in mainstream sources and is not exhaustive).

	Pythagoras	Teiresias	Melampus	Calchas	Mopsus	Helenus
[Clairvoyance]	+	+	+	+	+	+
Poetry	+					
Links with others	+	+	+	+	+	+
Travelling	+		+	+	+	+
Inventions	+	+	+			
Unusual death	+	+		+	+	
Initiation		+	+		+	+
Quarrels with authorities	+	+	+		+	+
Exile						
Significant origin	+	+	+		+	+
Power over natural phenomena	+		+			
Cult	+	+	+	+		(+)
Contests			+	+	+	
Pupils	+					
Poverty						
Wisdom	+	+	+	+	+	+
Proverbs	+					
Old age	+	+				
Oracles	+			+		
Egypt	+		+			
Two or more persons	+				+	
Change of name						+
Blindness		+				
Politics	+				+	+
Oikistes				+	+	+
Animal-helpers			+			
Divine/immortal	+	+				
Teachers	+					+
Wealth	+		+			
Maxims	+					
Law-giver or a judge	+					
Own oracle		+			+	
Wit						
One of the Seven Sages	+					
General at war						+
Grows up abroad						
Heroic deeds						
Many lovers and children						+
Kills a close relative						
Establishes a festival or rite			+			
Magical objects	+					
Supports arts						
Cruel						
Unhappy personal life						

3. The Sages. (The table includes the data in mainstream sources and is not exhaustive. See also the data about Pittacus and Periander in the next table).

	Lycurgus	Solon	Bias	Chilon	Thales	Anacharsis
[Wisdom]	+	+	+	+	+	+
Links with others	+	+	+	+	+	+
Travelling	+	+	+		+	+
Inventions	+				+	+
Unusual death	+		(+)	+	(+)	+
Initiation						
Quarrels with authorities	+	+				+
Exile						
Significant origin	+	+			+	+
Power over natural phenomena						
Cult	+		+	+		
Poetry		+	+	+	+	+
Contests						
Pupils	+				+	
Poverty	+					
Proverbs				+		+
Old age	+	+	+	+	+	
Oracles	+	+				
Egypt	+	+			+	
Two or more persons	+					
Change of name						
Blindness	(one eye)					
Politics	+	+	+	+	+	
Oikistes		+				
Animal-helpers						
Divine/immortal						
Teachers	+					
Wealth		+	+		+	
Maxims	+	+	+	+	+	+
Clairvoyance				+		
Law-giver or a judge	+	+	+	+		+
Own oracle						
Wit		+		+	+	+
One of the 7 Sages		+	+	+	+	+
General at war						
Grows up abroad						
Heroic deeds						
Many lovers and children						
Kills a close relative						
Establishes a festival or rite	+					+
Magical objects						
Supports arts		+				
Cruel						
Unhappy personal life						

4. Tyrants. (The table includes the data in mainstream sources and is not exhaustive).

	Pittacus	Periander	Peisistratus	Polycrates	Croesus
[Politics]	+	+	+	+	+
Poetry	+	+			
Links with others	+	+	+	+	+
Travelling	+		+	+	+
Inventions					
Unusual death		+		+	
Initiation					
Quarrels with authorities	+			+	
Significant origin		+	+		+
Exile			+		
Power over natural phenomena					
Cult					
Contests	(+)	+			
Pupils					
Poverty					
Wisdom	+	+	+		+
Proverbs	+		+	+	
Old age	+	+	+		
Oracles		+	+	+	+
Egypt					+
Two or more persons	+	+			
Change of name					
Blindness					
Oikistes					
Animal-helpers					
Divine/immortal					
Teachers					
Wealth				+	+
Maxims	+	+			
Law-giver or a judge	+		+		
Clairvoyance					
Own oracle					
Wit		+			
One of the 7 Sages	+	+			
General at war	(+)	+	+	+	+
Grows up abroad					
Heroic deeds	(+)				
Many lovers and children					
Kills a close relative		+		+	
Establishes a festival or rite			+	+	
Magical objects					
Supports arts		+	+	+	
Cruel		+		+	
Unhappy personal life	+	+			+

5. Heroes. (The table includes the data in mainstream sources and is not exhaustive).

	Heracles	Theseus	Achilles	Perseus	Jason	Orestes
[Heroic deeds]	+	+	+	+	+	+
Poetry		+	(+)			
Links with other figures	+	+	+		+	
Travelling	+	+	+	+	+	+
Inventions				+		
Unusual death	+	+	+		+	+
Initiation			+			
Quarrels with authorities	+	+	+	+	+	+
Exile	+	+			+	+
Significant origin	+	+	+	+	+	+
Power over natural phenomena						
Cult	+	+	+	+	+	+
Contests	+	+		+	+	
Pupils						
Poverty						
Wisdom						
Proverbs	+	+	+			+
Old age						
Oracles	+	+	+	+	+	+
Egypt	+			+		
Two or more persons						
Change of name	+	+	+		+	
Blindness						
Politics		+		(+)	+	+
Oikistes	+	+		+		+
Animal-helpers						
Divine/immortal	+		+			
Teachers	+		+		+	
Wealth						
Maxims						
Clairvoyance						
Law-giver or a judge						
Own oracle						
Wit						
One of the 7 Sages						
General at war	+	+	+		+	
Grows up abroad	+	+	+	+	+	+
Many lovers and children	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kills a close relative	+	(+)		+		+
Establishes a festival or rite	+			+	+	+
Magical objects	+		+	+	+	
Supports arts						
Cruel						
Unhappy personal life	+					

REFERENCES

Homer

[links with other famous persons]: Tz. *Chil.* 637, Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος (Stasinus), Procl. *Vita Hom.* 5, Suda s.v. Κρεώφυλος, Str. 14.1.18 (638–639) (Creophylus), [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 11 (the sons of Midas), *Cert.* 6–13, etc (Homer); Eph. 70 F 149, Str. 10.4.19 (482) (Lycurgus); [travelling]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.*, *Cert.*, Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος *passim*, etc.; [inventions]: Hdt. 2.53 (theogonies, the names of gods), Suda s.v. Πυρρώνειοι (skepticism), Str. 1.1.2 (2) (founder of the science of geography); [death]: *Cert.* 18, Arist. fr. 76 R, [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 36, [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* 1.4, cf. Heracl. 22 B 56, Procl. *Vita Hom.* 5, *Vita Romana* 6, etc. (of grief about not being able to solve a riddle); *Vita Hom.* 2.3 (of starvation); [initiation]: *Vita Romana* 5, [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 8, Alex. Paph. in Eustath. *Od.* 1713.17; [quarrels]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 12–15 (the Cymeans), Paus. 1.2.3 (the kings); [origin]: Gorgias 82 B 25, Damastes in *Vita Romana* 6 (Musaeus), Damastes 5 F 11, Hellanicus 4 F 5, Pherecydes 3 F 167 (Orpheus), Arist. fr. 76 R (a daemon), Crit. in Philostr. *VS* 490 (a river), *Cert.* 2, etc. (Meles), Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος (Linus, Orpheus), etc.; [power over natural phenomena]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 15 (a curse on the Cymeans), 19 (a contrary wind), 30 (a curse on a woman), 31, Alex. Paph. in Eustath. *Od.* 1713.17 (talks to birds); [cult]: *Cert.* 17 (the Argive cult), [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 10 (a Neonteichean cult), Str. 14.1.37 (646) (the *Homereion* in Smyrna), cf. [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* 1.4 (a statue in Colophon); [contests]: Hes. *Op.* 657 (a parallel reading), *Cert.* 6–13, Plut. *Mor.* 153d–154a, 674f–675a, Varro ap. Gell. *NA* 3.11.4, etc. (contest with Hesiod), [Hes.] fr. 357 MW (on Delos), Paus. 10.7.2–3 (in Delphi), cf. [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* 1.4 (at Cronia); [pupils]: Suda s.v. Ἀρκτῖνος, Tz. *Chil.* 641 (Arctinus), [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 5–6, 24–25 (Homer as a teacher of children), Pi. *N.* 2.1 and scholium, Eustath. *Il.* 4.17, Hellan. 4 F 20, etc (the Homerids); [poverty]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 9, 12–13, 15, 25, etc., (but cf. Procl. *Vita Hom.* 8: rich); [wisdom]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 4–5 (an intelligent child), *Cert.* 3, Str. 1.2.3 (17), 8.3.23 (348) etc.; [old age]: *Cert.* 18, Procl. *Vita Hom.* 8, Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος; [oracles]: Arist. fr. 76 R, *Cert.* 5, [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* 1.4, Procl. *Vita Hom.* 5 (parents, home, death), Alex. Paph. in Eustath. *Od.* 1713.17 (fame), *Cert.* 3, [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* 1.4 (origin, home, fate); [Egypt]: *Vita Romana* 2, *Vita Hom.* 5, *Cert.* 3, Alex. Paph. in Eustath. *Od.* 1713.17; [two or more persons]: *Vita Hesiodi* 3; [change of name]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 13, *Vita Hom.* 2.1, Eph. 70 F 1, *Cert.* 3, *Vita Romana* 5, etc.; [blind]: Thuc. 3.104.6, Eph. 70 F 1, Procl. *Vita Hom.* 3, Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος, *Vita Rom.* 5, *Vita Hom.* 2.1, *Cert.* 3, [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 7, [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* 1.1, etc.; [Homer's teacher]: *Cert.* 3, [Plut.] *Vita Hom.* 1.4, Lucian *VH* 2.20ff.; [divine/immortal]: Str. 14.1.18 (638) (Creophylus, Aristeas of Proconnesus), Tz. *Chil.* 633 (Pornapides); [wealthy]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 25, Procl. *Chrest.* p. 101 A.; [clairvoyance]: [Hdt.] *Vita Hom.* 20 (a prophecy about the Cymaean colonization of Cebrenia).

Pythagoras

Iambl. *VP passim*, Porph. *VP passim*, Diog. L. 8 *passim* (see the indexes).

Teiresias

[clairvoyance]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.8, 3.6.7, Soph. *Ant.* 988 ff., *OT* 316 ff., etc.; [links]: *Od.* 11 (Odysseus), Soph. *Ant.* (Creon), *OT* (Creon, Oedipus), Str. 9.5.22 (443) (Mopsus); [inventions]: Plin. *NH* 7.75 (invents the divination by entrails of birds); [death]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.3, Paus. 9.33.1, cf. 7.3.1, Str. 9.2.36 (413); [initiation]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7, Callim. *Hy* 5.57 ff., cf. Paus. 9.2.3; [quarrels]: Soph. *OT* 354 ff. and *passim*, Soph. *Ant.* 1094 ff.; [origin]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7; [cult]: Apollod. *Ep.* 7.34, cf. Paus. 9.18.3, Str. 9.2.27 (411); [wisdom]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.3, Soph. *OT* 300 ff., Soph. *Ant.* 1094 ff., *Teleg. argum.* 1; [old age]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7, Tz. on *Lycophr.* 682 (Hes. fr. 276 MW), cf. Paus. 9.33.1 (seven or nine generations); [blindness]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.7, Callim. *Hy.* 5.57 ff., Hygin. *Fab.* 75, Ov. *Met.* 3.320, etc.; Od. 10.492 f., Str. 16.2.39 (763) (retains memory in Hades) [divine/immortal]; [own oracle]: Plut. *Mor.* 434c.

Melampus

[clairvoyance]: Hdt. 9.34, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11–12, 2.2.2, Paus. 4.36.5, 8.18.7; [links]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11–12 (Bias), Paus. 2.23.2 (Amphiaraus); [travelling]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.12 (Messene), Hdt. 2.49 (Egypt?), Paus. 4.36.5 (Thessaly); [inventions]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.2.2 (discovers that illnesses can be cured by drugs and purifications), Athen. 2.45 (the first to invent the mixing of wine with water); [initiation]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.11 (snakes clean his ears, meets Apollo); [quarrels]: 2.2.2 (quarrel with Proitus); [origin]: 1.9.11 (Cretheus), 2.2.2 (Abas); [power over natural phenomena]: 1.9.11 (language of birds), 2.2.2, Str. 8.3.19 (347), Paus. 2.18.4, Hdt. 9.34, Diod. Sic. 4.68.4, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 288 (heals the Argive women); [cult]: Paus. 1.44.8; [contests]: 10.7.3 (wins the citharodic contest at Delphi); [wisdom]: Hdt. 2.49; [Egypt?]: *ibid.*, Diod. Sic. 1.97 (learns about the Dionysiac worship from the Egyptians or from Cadmus); [wealth]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.12, 2.2.2, Paus. 4.5.3, 2.18.4 (receives the cattle of Phylacus, becomes a king of Argos). [establishes a rite]: Hdt. 2.49 (introduces the worship of Dionysus and the phallic procession nto Greece).

Calchas

[clairvoyance]: *Il.* 1.69, 2.322, etc., *Cy. arg* 6, 8, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8, *Ep.* 3.15, 3.20–21, 5.8, 5.25, Paus. 9.19.5; [links]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2–4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643), Conon *Narrat.* 6 (Mopsus), *Il., passim* (the heroes); [travelling]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 6.2–4, *Nos. arg.* 2, Str. 14.4.3 (688) (Colophon), Soph. in Str. 14.1.27 (675), 14.1.27 (643) (Cilicia), *Cy. arg.* 6, 8 (Aulis, Troy), Str. 14.1.27 (642), Paus. 7.3.4 (Clarus); [cult]: Str. 6.3.9 (284) (a hero-temple and oracle in Daunia); [death]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2, 6.4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643), 14.5.16 (675), Callin. in Str. 14.4.3 (668) (of grief), Conon *Narrat.* 6 (suicide), Serv. ad Verg. *Ecl* 6.72 (of laughter), Tzetzes *On Lycophr.* 980 (killed by Heracles); [contest]:

Apollod. *Ep.* 6–4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643), 14.5.16 (675), Conon *Narrat.* 6, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 51; [wisdom]: *Il.* 1.69–74, etc.; [oracles]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2, Str. 14.1.27 (643), Tz. *On Lycophr.* 427, Conon *Narrat.* 6; [*oikistes*]: Str. 12.7.3 (570) (Selge).

Mopsus

[clairvoyance]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2.-4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643) (Mopsus son of Manto), Apoll. Rh. 1.77–85, 2.911–929 and *passim* (Mopsus the Lapith); [links]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2–4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643) (Mopsus son of Manto and Calchas), Apoll. Rh. *passim*, Paus. 5.17.10 (Mopsus the Lapith, the Argonauts); [travelling]: Str. 14.4.3 (688) (led people over Taurus), 14.5.16 (675) (Mallus), Apoll. Rh. *passim* (travels with the Argonauts); [death]: Apollod. *Ep.* 19, Str. 14.5.16 (676), Tzetzes *On Lycophr.* 440 (Mopsus son of Manto, killed at the duel with Amphilochus), Apoll. Rh. 4.1502–1536, Lycophr. *Alex.* 881 (Mopsus the Lapith dies of snakebite); [initiation]: Apoll. Rh. 1.65–68 (Mopsus the Lapith is taught augury by Leto); [quarrel]: Apollod. *Ep.* 19, Str. 14.5.16 (676) (Amphilochus); [origin]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2–4, Str. 9.5.22 (443), 14.5.16 (675), 14.1.27 (642–643) (Mopsus son of Manto and Apollo, grandson of Teiresias), Apoll. Rh. 1.77–85, [Hes.] *Scut.* 181, Paus. 5.17.10, (Mopsus the Lapith, son of Ampyx, descendant of Ares); [contests]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2–4, Str. 14.1.27 (642–643), 14.5.16 (675), 14.4.3 (688), Conon *Narrat.* 6, Tzetzes *On Lycophr.* 427, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 51 (Mopsus son of Manto contests with Calchas), Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2–4, Str. 14.5.16 (675–676) (Mopsus son of Manto single combat with Amphilochus), Paus. 5.17.10 (Mopsus the Lapith compets in boxing at the funeral games of Pelias); [wisdom]: Apoll. Rh. 1.77–85, 3.912–918 and *passim*; [two or more persons]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.2–4, Str. 9.5.22 (443), 14.1.27 (642), 14.5.16 (675) (son of Manto and Apollo, wins the contest with Calchas, duels with Amphilochus), [Hes.] *Scut.* 181, Str. 9.5.22 (443), Paus. 5.17.10, Apoll. Rh. *passim* (the Lapith, an Argonaut); [politics]: Str. 14.5.16 (675), Apollod. *Ep.* 6.19 (founds a colony, a king); [*oikistes*]: Str. 14.5.16 (675) (Mopsus son of Manto founds Mallus), cf. Str. 9.5.22 (443) (Mopsium named after Mopsus the Lapith); [own oracle]: Plut. *Mor.* 434D–F, Conon *Narrat.* 6.

Helenus

[wisdom, clairvoyance]: Apollod. *Ep.* 5.10, *Arg. Il. parva* 2, *Il.* 6.76 ff., 7.44 ff., Verg. *Aen.* 374, *Cy. arg.* 1, Serv. ad *Aen.* 2.166, Tzetzes *On Lycophr.* 911; [links]: *Il. passim* (the heroes), Apollod. *Ep.* 6.12, Paus. 2.23.6 (Neoptolemus); [travelling]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.12; [initiation]: Eustath. in Hom. p. 663 (by snakes), p. 626 (by the Thracian prophet); [origin]: *Il.* 6.76, 7.44, 12.94, 24.249, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.5; [change of name]: Eustath. in Hom. p. 626, 662 (from Scamandrius to Helenus); [politics, general at war]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.13 (a king), *Il.* 12.94, 13.576; [*oikistes*]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.13 (a city in Molossia); [teacher]: Eustath. in Hom. p. 626 (a Thracian prophet); [many wives]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.13 (Deidamea), 6.24 (Hecuba), Paus. 2.23.6, 1.10.3 (Andromache).

Lycurgus

[wisdom]: Plut. *Lyc.* 29.1–3 and *passim*; [links]: 1.2 (Homer), 1.1, 23.2 (Iphitus), 4.1 (Thales), 4.4 (the Creophylids); [travelling]: 3.5, 4.1 (Crete), 4.3 (Asia), 4.6 (Libya, Iberia, India), 5.3, 29.3 (Delphi); [law-giver and inventor]: 1.1, 5.6–8 and *passim*; [death]: 29.5; [quarrels]: 3.5, 11.1; [origin]: 1.4, 2.1; [cult]: 31.5; [a disciple]: 11.2–3; [poverty]: cf. 8, 9, 13.3; [old age]: 29.4; [oracles]: 5.3, 6.1, 29.3–4, cf. 23.2; [Egypt]: 4.5; [two different persons]: 1.2; [blind of one eye]: 11.1, cf. 11.4; [establishes a rite]: 1.1, 23.2 (establishes Olympic Games), 11.4 (sets up a temple to Athena Opilitis), 25.2 (sets up a statue of Laughter, organizes drinking parties); [teachers]: 4.1; [politics]: 5.4–5 and *passim*; [maxims]: 19.3–4.

Solon

[wisdom]: Plut. *Sol.* 3.4, 8 and *passim*, Diog. L. 1.46; [links]: Plut. *Sol.* 1.2 and *passim* (Peisistratus), 4.1 (the Seven Sages), 5.1 (Anacharsis, Thales), 6.1 (Thales), 12.4 (Epimenides), 27 (Croesus), 28.1 (Aesop), Diog. L. 1.64 (Periander, Epimenides), 1.66–67 (Peisistratus, Croesus); [travelling]: Plut. *Sol.* 2.1, 4.1 (Delphi, Corinth), 6.1 (Miletus), 26.1 (Egypt, Heliopolis, Sonchis of Sais), 26.2 (Cyprus), 27 (Sardis), Diog. L. 1.50 (Egypt, Cyprus, Sardis), 5.51 (Cilicia), Suda s.v. Σόλων (Cilicia, Cyprus); [origin]: Plut. *Sol.* 1.1–2; [poetry]: Plut. *Sol.* 2.2–3, 3.2–3, 3.4–5, 8.1–2, 14.4–6, 15.2,5, 16.2, 18.4, 26.1,4, 30.2,6, 31.3, Diog. L. 1.47–49, 1.52, Suda s.v. Σόλων; [old age]: Plut. *Sol.* 30.4, 31.1, Diog. L. 1.55, 1.62; [politics]: Plut. *Sol.* 9.1, 14.4; [oracles]: Plut. *Sol.* 3.3, 8.1–3, 14 and *passim*, Diog. L. 1.46, 1.49 and *passim*; [poverty]: Plut. *Sol.* 3.1; [wealth]: Plut. *Sol.* 2.1, 3.2; [law-giver]: Plut. *Sol.* 1.3, 15.3 ff., 16.3, 17–25, Diog. L. 1.55 and *passim*, Suda s.v. Σόλων; [wit]: Plut. *Sol.* 5.1–2; [one of the Seven Sages]: Plut. *Sol.* 3.4, 4.1, Suda s.v. Σόλων; [*oikistes*]: Plut. *Sol.* 26, Diog. L. 1.51, Suda s.v. Σόλων (the foundation of Soloi); [maxims]: Plut. *Sol.* 3.3, 14.2, 30.5, Diog. L. 1.63, Suda s.v. Σόλων; [quarrels]: Plut. *Sol.* 15.7.

Bias

[wisdom, wealth]: Diog. L. 1.82–83, Hdt. 1.27, Suda s.v. Βίαντος Πριηνέως δίκη; [travelling]: Hdt. 1.27 (Sardis); [links, politics]: Diog. L. 1.83 (Alyattes), Hdt. 1.27 (Croesus); [a judge, old age, death]: Diog. L. 1.84; [poetry]: 1.85; [maxims]: 1.86–88; [cult]: 1.88.

Chilon

[wisdom]: Hdt. 3.59, 7.235, Diog. L. 1.68 and *passim*, Paus. 10.24.1, cf. 3.16.4; [links]: Diog. L. 1.69 (Aesop), 1.68 and Hdt. 1.59 (Hippocrates), Diog. L. 1.73 (Periander); [poetry, a judge]: 1.68, 1.71; [old age, death]: 1.72; [wit, politics]: 1.68; [maxims]: 1.69–1.70, 1.73; [clairvoyance]: 1.68, 71–72, Hdt. 3.59; [one of the Seven Sages]: Paus. 10.24.1, Suda s.v. Χίλων; [cult]: Paus. 3.16.4; [a proverb]: Suda *loc. cit.*

Thales

[wisdom]: Plut. *Sol.* 6, 21.6, Suda s.v. Θαλῆς, Hdt. 1.170, Diog. L. 1.23–24 and *passim*, (but cf. Diog. L. 1.34: fool as he falls into a ditch); [links]: Plut. *Sol.* 5.1 (Solon), Plut. *Lyc.* 4.1 (Lycurgus), Diog. L. 1.27 (Thrasybulus), 1.38 (Croesus), 1.43–44 (Pherecydes and Solon), Hdt. 1.75 (Croesus); [travelling]: Diog. L. 1.24, 1.27 (Egypt), 1.43 (Crete, Egypt), 1.44 (Asia); [inventions/discoveries]: 1.23–24, 1.27; [death]: 1.39, Suda s.v. Θαλῆς; [origin]: Diog. L. 1.22; [poetry]: 1.29, Plut. *Lyc.* 4.1–4.2 (*pro* Thaletas?); [pupils]: Iambl. *VP* 12 (Pythagoras); [old age]: Suda s.v. Θαλῆς, Diog. L. 1.38; [politics]: 1.23, 1.25; [wealth]: 1.26; [maxims]: 1.33, 1.35–37, 1.40, Suda s.v. Θαλῆς; [wit]: Diog. L. 1.26, 1.35–37; [one of the Seven Sages]: 1.22, 1.28–31, 1.42, Paus. 10.24.1, Suda s.v. Θαλῆς.

Anacharsis

[wisdom, wit]: Hdt. 4.46, Eph. ap. Str. 7.3.9 (303), Str. 7.3.8 (301), cf. Paus. 1.22.8; Diog. L. 1.101 (Solon), 1.105 (Croesus); [travelling]: 1.101 (Athens), Paus. 1.22.8 [links]: (Delphi), Hdt. 4.76–77 (many places, Cyzicus, Greece); [inventions]: Diog. L. 1.105, Eph. ap. Str. 7.3.9 (303) (the bellows, anchor, potter's wheel); [quarrels, establishes a rite, death]: Hdt. 4.76–77, Diog. L. 1.102–103; [origin]: Hdt. 4.76; [poetry, proverb]: Diog. L. 1.101; [maxims]: 1.103–104; [a law-giver]: 1.101–102; [one of the Seven Sages]: Eph. ap. Str. 7.3.9 (303).

Pittacus

[politics]: Diog. L. 1.74, Suda s.v. Πιττακός; [poetry]: Suda *loc. cit.*, Diog. L. 1.78; [links]: Hdt. 1.27, Diog. L. 1.75, 1.77, 1.81 (Croesus), 1.74 (Periander), 1.74 (Alcaeus); [travelling]: Hdt. 1.27 (Sardis); [quarrel, contest/single combat]: 1.74, Suda *loc. cit.*; [wisdom, wit, maxims]: Diog. L. 1.76–77, 1.79–80, Suda *loc. cit.*; [law-giver]: 1.76, Suda *loc. cit.*; [old age]: Suda *loc. cit.*, Diog. L. 1.79; [two or more persons]: 1.79; [one of the Seven Sages]: Suda *loc. cit.*; [general at war]: Diog. L. 1.74; [unhappy personal life]: 1.81.

Periander

[politics]: Diog. L. 1.98, Suda s.v. Περίανδρος (pi,1068), Hdt. 5.95; [poetry]: Diog. L. 1.97, Suda s.v. Περίανδρος (pi,1067); [links]: Hdt. 1.20, 1.23, 5.92.6, Diog. L. 1.95, 1.100 (Thrasybulus), 1.73 (Chilon), 1.64, Plut. *Sol.* 4.1 (Solon), Hdt. 1.23–24 (Arion); [death]: Diog. L. 1.96, Suda s.v. Περίανδρος (pi,1067); [origin]: Diog. L. 1.94, Hdt. 5.92.6–7, 5.95, 1.23; [contest]: Ephorus (70 F 178) in Diog. L. 1.96 (chariot-race); [wisdom]: Diog. L. 1.97–98, Hdt. 5.95; [old age]: Diog. L. 1.95, Hdt. 3.53; [an oracle]: 5.92.7; [two or more persons]: Diog. L. 1.98–99; [wit, maxims]: Diog. L. 97–98; [one of the Seven Sages]: Paus. 1.23.1, 10.24.1, Diog. L. 1.41, Suda s.v. Περίανδρος (pi,1067, cf. 1068); [kills a relative]: Hdt. 3.52, Suda s.v. Περίανδρος (pi,1068) [general at war]; Diog. L. 1.94, Hdt. 3.50; [supports arts]: Hdt. 1.23–24; [cruel]: Diog. L. 1.94–96, Hdt. 5.92.6–7, 3.48–53, Suda s.v. Περίανδρος (pi,1068), cf. Paus. 1.23.1; [unhappy personal life]: Diog. L. 1.94–95, 1.97.

Peisistratus

[politics]: Hdt. 1.59–63, 5.94, 6.35, Thuc. 6.54, Plut. *Sol.* 29.2–3, 30.1–4, 31.1–2, Diog. L. 1.66; [links]: Plut. *Sol.* 1.4, 29.2–3, 30.1–5, 31.1 (Solon); [travelling]: Hdt. 1.61 (Eretria), Eus. *Chron.* Ol.54.3 (Italy); [exile]: Hdt. 1.61–62, Eus. *Chron.* Ol.54.3; [origin]: Plut. *Sol.* 1.1, Hdt. 5.65; [wisdom]: 1.59, 1.63; [proverb]: Suda s.v. Ἐν Πυθίῳ κρεῖττον ἦν ἀποπατῆσαι (epsilon,1428); [old age]: Thuc. 6.54; [oracles]: Hdt. 1.62, 1.64, cf. 1.59; [a law-giver]: Plut. *Sol.* 31.2, Suda s.v. Ἐν Πυθίῳ κρεῖττον ... (epsilon,1428); [general at war]: 1–59, 1.62, 5.94; [establishes a rite]: Suda s.v. Πύθιον (sets up a temple), Hdt. 1.64 (purifies Delos); [supports arts]: Ael. *VH* 13.14, Cic. *De or.* 3.34.137, Paus. 7.26.13, *Vita Hom.* 4, 5 (*Anth. Pal.* 11.442), Suda s.v. Ὅμηρος (collects the works of Homer), Gell. *NA* 7.17 (establishes the first public library at Athens).

Polycrates

[politics]: Hdt. 3.39, 3.44, 3.120, 3.122; [links]: 2.182, 3.39–40, 3.42–43, 3.125 (Amasis), 3. 44 (Cambyses), 3.120, Paus. 1.2.3, Str. 14.1.16 (638) (Anacreon), 14.1.16 (638), Iambl. *VP* 11, 88, Suda s.v. Πυθαγόρας (Pythagoras), cf. Suda s.v. Ἴβυκος (Ibycus on Samos at the time of Polycrates' father); [travelling]: Thuc. 1.13, Hdt. 3.39 (captures many islands and towns), 3.125 (Magnesia); [death]: 3.122–125, Str. 14.1.16 (638), cf. Suda s.v. Πύθια καὶ Δήλια (murdered); [quarrels]: Hdt. 3.39; [proverb]: Suda s.v. ταῦτα σοι καὶ Πύθια καὶ Δήλια; [oracles]: Hdt. 3.124, Suda s.v. Πύθια καὶ Δήλια and ταῦτα σοι καὶ Πύθια καὶ Δήλια, cf. Hdt. 3.132 (Polycrates' soothsayer), 3.40–42 and Str. 14.1.16 (638) (the story of Polycrates' ring); [kills a close relative, wealth]: Hdt. 3.39; [general at war]: Hdt. *ibid.*, 3.54; [establishes a rite]: Suda s.v. Πύθια καὶ Δήλια and ταῦτα σοι καὶ Πύθια καὶ Δήλια (the Pythia and the Delia festivals on Delos); [supports arts]: Hdt. 3.120 (Anacreon in his court); [cruel]: Hdt. 3.39, 3.46, Suda s.v. Νεώσικοι.

Croesus

[politics]: Hdt. 1.26–57, 1.59, 1.65, 1.69–72, 1.73, 1.75–81, 1.84, 1.88, 1.155–156, 1.207; [links]: Hdt. 1.27 (Bias, Pittacus), 1.29–32, (the Sages and Solon), Suda s.v. Κροῖσος (kapa,2499), Diog. L. 1.67, Plut. *Sol.* 27–28 (Solon), Suda s.v. Μᾶλλον ὁ Φρύξ (the Sages, Solon, Aesop), Plut. *Sol.* 28, Suda s.v. Αἴσωπος (alphaiota,334) (Aesop), Hdt. 1.75 (Thales), 1.86–90, 1.153, 1.211, 1.207–208, 1.153–156, 3.14, Suda s.v. Κροῖσος (kapa,2500), Plut. *Sol.* 28 (Cyrus); [travelling]: Hdt. 1.71 (Cappadocia), 1.153 (as a prisoner), 3.14 (Egypt); [origin]: Hdt. 1.6–21, 1.25–16; [wisdom]: 1.88, 3.34–36; [oracles]: Hdt. 1.34 (a dream), 1.46–49, 1.53, 1.55, 1.75, 1.78, 1.85–86, 1.90–91, Suda s.v. Κροῖσος (kapa,2500) and Λοξίας; [general at war]: Hdt. 1.29–32, 6.125, Suda s.v. Κροῖσος (kapa,2498,2500), Plut. *Sol.* 27 [wealth]; Hdt. 1.26, 1.71–81, 1.84; [unhappy personal life]: Hdt. 1.43–45 (son's death), 1.86 ff. (a prisoner).

Heracles

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.5 (captures Troy), 1.6.1–2 (kills and wounds the Gigants), 1.7.1 (releases Prometheus), 1.9.14 (rescues Persephone from Hades), 1.9.9, 2.7.3 (sacks Pylos, kills the sons of Neleus), 1.9.16 (one of the Argonauts), 2.4.9 (kills two serpents when infant), 2.4.9 (kills the lion of Cithairon), 2.5.1–12 (12 labours), 2.5.9 (rescues Hesione), 2.15.12 (rescues Theseus), etc.; [links]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16 (the Argonauts), 2.4.11 (Creon), 2.5.12, *Ep.* 1.16, Paus. 1.17.4–5 (Theseus); [travelling]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.5, 2.6.4, 3.12.5 (Troy), 2.5.11, Str. 15.1.6 (687) (Egypt), Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11 (Arabia, Libya), 2.4.12 (Delphi, Tiryns), Str. 11.5.5. (505), 15.1.6 (686), 17.3.7 (828) (India), 1.9.14 (Hades), etc.; [death]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7, Str. 9.4.14 (428); [quarrels]; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.4 (Laomedon), 2.6.1 (Eurytos), etc.; [exile]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.6; [origin]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.8, Str. 8.3.3 (355); [cult]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11, Paus. 9.11.2, 1.19.3, 30.2, 5.15.7, Str. 5.3.3 (230), 15.1.58 (712), etc.; [contests]: Favorin. *Corinth.* 14 (Olympic games, pancration), Str. 8.3.30 (355) (Olympic games), cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.10, 2.5.12, 1.6.1, 2.7.5; [proverbs]: Suda s.vv. Εἰκῇ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ Εἰκότων, Ἡράκλεις, Ἡρακλῆς ἀέριον κλέος ἔσχεν, Γυνὴ εἰς Ἡρακλέους οὐ φοιτᾷ and Ὦ Ἡράκλεις, τί μαίνῃ; [oracles]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.12, 2.6.2, Paus. 10.13.4, cf. Str. 5.3.3 (230); [change of name: from Alceides to Heracles]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.12; [*oikistes*]: Str. 3.1.7 (140) (Calpe); [general at war]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.3.5, 2.6.4, 3.12.5 (Troy), 1.9.9, 2.7.3 (Pylos), 2.7.2 (Elis), 2.7.7 (Oichalia), etc.; [divine]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.7, cf. 2.4.12, Paus. 1.15.4, 1.32.4, Str. 5.3.3 (230); [teachers]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.9 (Amphitryon, Autolycus, Eurytus, Castor, Linus); [grows up abroad]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.9; [many lovers and children]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.1, 2.7.5 (Deianeira), 2.6.1, 2.7.7 (Iole), 2.7.4, 3.9.1 (Auge, Telephus), 2.4.11 (Megara and three sons), 2.7.6 (Tlepolemos), 2.7.7 (Hebe), 2.7.8 (wives, children); [establishes a rite]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.7.2, Pi. *O.* 10.23–27 (Olympic games, an altar of Pelops, six altars to the twelve gods), 2.7.7 (the altar to Cenian Zeus), Paus. 9.17.1 (a shrine to Artemis), Pi. *O.*2.3–4, 6.67–70, cf. Str. 8.3.30 (355), etc. (Olympic games); [magical objects]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.11 (a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo, a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, a robe from Athene); [unhappy personal life]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.12 (madness, kills his children).

Theseus

[heroic deeds]: Paus. 1.17.2–3, 1.27.8–9, 8.1–2, Plut. *Thes.* 9.1, 10.1, 11.1, 14.1, 15.1–19.1, 29.3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2, 1.9.16, 2.6.4, 3.16.1-*Ep.* 1.5, *Ep.* 1.7–10, etc.; [poetry]: Plut. *Thes.* 25.3; [links]: Paus. 1.27.8, 1.17.4, Plut. *Thes.* 7.1, 26.1, 30.4, 35.1, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.12 (Heracles), 1.9.16 (the Argonauts), Plut. *Thes.* 29.3 (Jason, Meleager, Adrastus); [travelling]: Plut. *Thes.* 5.1 (Delphi), 8.1 ff., 26.1, etc.; [death]: Plut. *Thes.* 35.4–5, Apollod. *Ep.* 1.24, cf. Paus. 1.17.6 (killed by Lycomedes, or slips and falls down the cliff); [quarrels]: Plut. *Thes.* 13.1–3, etc.; [exile]: Soph. *OC* 562–564, Plut. *Thes.* 35.3, Apollod. *Ep.* 1.24; [origin]: Plut. *Thes.* 3.1, cf. 6.1, 7.1; [cult]: Paus. 1.17.2, 1.17.6, Plut. *Thes.* 4, 27.5, 35.5, 36.2–3; [contests]: Plut. *Thes.* 19.2–3 (at funeral games in Crete),

Favorin. *Corinth.* 14 (Isthmian games, foot-race in armour); [proverbs]: Plut. *Thes.* 29.3–4, cf. 5 (a haircut called ϑησηΐς); [oracles]: Plut. *Thes.* 3.3, 18.2, 24.4–5, 26.4, 36.1; [change of name]: Plut. *Thes.* 4.1; [politics]: Plut. *Thes.* 24.1–5, 25, 19.4, 35.2; [*oikistes*]: Plut. *Thes.* 26.5 (Pythopolis), Str. 6.3.6 (282) (Brentesium); [general at war]: Paus. 1.17.4, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.7.1, etc.; [grows up abroad]: Plut. *Thes.* 4; [many lovers and children]: Plut. *Thes.* 3.4 (Aethra, Theseus), 8.3 (Perigune), 20.1, 29.2 (Aigle), 20.2 (Ariadne), 26.1, 28.1 (Antiope), 27.4 (Hippolyte), 28.1 (Phaedra), 29.1 (Anaxo, the daughters of Sinis and Cercyon, Periboea, Iope, Helen), 31–34 (Helen), Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.7 (Helen), *Ep.* 1.7–10 (Ariadne), 1.16 (Antiope, Hippolyte), 1.18 (Phaedra), 1.23 (Helen), Eur. *Hippol.* (Phaedra, Hippolyte); [kills a close relative]: Plut. *Thes.* 22, Apollod. *Ep.* 1.10 (causes the death of Aegeus), 1.18–19 (causes the death of Hippolytus); [establishes a festival or rite]: Plut. *Thes.* 20.4 (cult for Ariadne), 21.1–2 (athletic contests in Delos, a dance), 23.2 (Oschophoria), 24.3 (Panathenaic festival), 24.4 (Metoecia), 25.4–5 (Isthmian games), 35.2 (cult for Heracles).

Achilles

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. *Ep.* 3.20, *Cy. arg.* 7 (heals Telephus), *Cy. arg.* 11, Apollod. *Ep.* 3.32–33, *Il.* 2.681 ff. (drives off Aeneas' cattle, sacks many towns around Troy, kills Troilus), Apollod. *Ep.* 3.13 (kills Cycnus), *Aeth. arg.* 2, Apollod. *Ep.* 5.3 (kills Memnon), *Il. passim*, etc.; [poetry]: cf. *Il.* 9.185 ff. (sings to the phorminx about the glorious deeds of warriors); [links]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8 (Odysseus), *Il. passim* (heroes), etc.; [travelling]: *Cy. arg.* 7 (Aulis, Scyrus), etc.; [death]: *Aeth. arg.* 3, Apollod. *Ep.* 5.3 (killed at the Scaean Gates), Dict. Cret. 3.29 (killed at the temple of Apollo in Thymbras); [initiation, change of name]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.6 (Cheiron feeds him on the entrails of lions and wild boars and the marrow of bears, and changes his name from Ligyron to Achilles); [quarrels]: *Il.* 1.130 ff., etc.; [origin]: *Il.* 24.59 ff., 21.189, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.4; [cult]: Paus. 2.7, 3.19.11, 3.20,8, 3.24.5, 6.23.3, Str. 7.3.16 (306), 7.3.19 (307–308), 13.1.32 (596), 11.2.6 (494), 13.1.39 (600); [proverb]: Suda s.v. Ἀχίλλειος εὐχή; [oracles]: *Il.* 19.407 ff., 9.410 ff., sch. D *Il.* 19.326, Apollod. *Ep.* 3.26, *Bibl.* 3.13.8, 3.3.4, Paus. 6.23.3; [divine/immortal]: *Aeth. arg.* 4, Apollod. *Ep.* 5.5; [a teacher]: *Il.* 11.832, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.6, Paus. 3.18.12, Pi. *N.* 3.51 (Cheiron); [general at war]: *Il.* 2.681 ff., 16.168 ff., and *passim*, *Cy. arg.* 11, Apollod. *Ep.* 3.14–15; [grows up abroad]: schol. D *Il.* 19.326, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8; [many wives and children]: *Cy. arg.* 7 (Deidamea), schol. D *Il.* 19.326, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.8 (Deidamea, Pyrrhos), *Ep.* 5.5 (Medea), cf. Paus. 3.24.10–11 (woos Helen); [magical objects]: *Il.* 16.140, 19.400, Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.5 (immortal horses), cf. *Il.* 16.140 ff. (Cheiron's spear), 18.478 ff. (Hephaestus' shield).

Perseus

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.2–3, Paus. 3.18.11, 3.17.3, 1.22.6–3, Suda s.v. Γοργόνες and Περσεύς, etc. (the head of Gorgon), Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4, Paus. 4.35.9, cf. Str. 10.5.10 (487) (rescues Andromeda); [travelling]: Apollod.

Bibl. 2.4.2, Paus. 3.17.3 (Asia, Ethiopia), Hdt. 2.91, cf. 6.53–54, Str. 17.1.43 (814), cf. 17.1.18 (801) (Egypt); [inventions]: Paus. 2.16.2 (discus); [quarrels, politics]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4; [origin]: *Il.* 14.320, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.1, Hdt. 6.53–54; [cult]: Paus. 2.18.1, Hdt. 2.9; [contest, kills a close relative]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4; [oracles]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.3–4, Paus. 2.16.2; [*oikistes*]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4, Paus. 2.15.4–16.3, Str. 8.6.19 (377) (Mycenae), Apollod. *ibid.* (fortifies Midea); [grows up abroad]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.1; [many lovers and children]: Hdt. 7.61, Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.3, 2.4.5 (Andromeda, sons and a daughter), Str. 16.4.20 (779) (Erythas); [magical objects]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.2, Paus. 3.17.3, Suda s.v. Περσεύς, cf. Hdt. 2.91, 2.150 (winged sandals, the *kibibis*, the cap of Hades, the sickle of Hermes); [establishes a rite]: Hdt. 2.91 (a gymnastic contest in Egypt).

Jason

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2 (Calydonian boar), 1.9.16, Pi. *P.* 216 ff., Suda s.v. Δέρας (the golden fleece); [links]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2 (Calydonian boar hunters), 1.9.16 (the Argonauts), 1.9.28 (Creon); [travelling]: Pi. *P.* 216 ff., Eur. *Med.* 1–14, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16 ff. (on Argo), Paus. 2.3.7 (Corfu), Str. 11.4.8 (503), 11.13.10 (526), 11.14.12 (531) (Armenia, Media), 1.2.39 (46); [death]: Diod. Sic. 4.55 (of grief), Eur. *Med.* 1386–1388 (Argo's poop falls upon Jason and kills him); [quarrels]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.18 (Cyzicus), 1.9.23 (Aetes), 1.9.27 (Pelias); [exile]: Eur. *Med.* 1–14, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.27; [origin]: 1.9.16, cf. Str. 1.2.38 (45); [cult]: Paus. 1.34.2, Str. 11.4.7 (503), 11.13.10 (562), 11.14.12 (531), 1.2.39 (45); [contests]: Paus. 5.17.10 (takes part in wrestling competition at the funeral games of Pelias); [oracles]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.2, 1.9.16, 1.9.21; [change of name]: Pi. *P.* 4.119 with schol. *ad loc.* (211ab Dr.); [politics]: Paus. 2.3.7 (king of Corinth); [a teacher]: Pi. *N.* 3.53–54 (Cheiron); [general at war]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.13.7, Suda s.v. Ἀταλάντη; [grows up abroad]: cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16 (lives in the country); [many wives and children]: Pi. *P.* 4.221, Eur. *Med. passim* (Medea, the Corinthian princess), Paus. 2.3.7, 5.18.3, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.23, 1.9.25 (Medea), 1.9.17, *Il.* 7.468–470, 23.747, Str. 1.2.38 (45) (Hypsipyle and sons), Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.28 (Glauce), Paus. 5.1.8 (Apis); [establishes a rite]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.26, Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 4.1765–1772, Str. 6.1.1 (252); [magical objects]: Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.23 (bronze-footed bulls, dragon's teeth), 1.9.24 (Argo speaks).

Orestes

[heroic deeds]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.27, Paus. 3.16.7 (brings the wooden statue from Tauris, rescues Iphigeneia); [travelling]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.24 (Delphi), 6.25(Athens), 6.27 (the land of the Taurians, Rhodes), 6.28 (Arcadia), etc.; [death]: 6.28, cf. Str. 13.1.3 (582) (of snake-bite at Orestein in Arcadia), cf. Paus. 3.11.10 (a grave in Laconia); [quarrels]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.25, etc.; [exile]: Str. 7.7.8 (326); [origin]: Soph. *El.* 153, Eur. *Or.* 20–24, Apollod. *Ep.* 2.1–16; [cult]: cf. 6.28, Paus. 8.34.2–3, 8.54.4, 2.17.3, Str. 12.2.3 (535); [a proverb]: Suda s.v. Εὔνους ὁ σφάκτης; [oracles]: Hdt. 1.67–68, Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 83 ff., *Or.* 1643, Apollod. *Ep.* 6.24, Paus. 8.5.4, 3.11.10, 3.3.6; [politics]: Paus. 2.18.5

(king of Sparta, acquires most of Arcadia), 8.5.1 (king of Achaea), 3.16 (king of Laconia); [*oikistes*]: Str. 7.7.8 (326), 13.1.3 (582); [grows up abroad]: Eur. *El.* 15–18, Apollod. *Ep.* 6.24; [many lovers and children]: Apollod. *Ep.* 6.14, 6.28, Paus. 1.33.7, 2.18.5, Tzetzes *On Lycophr.* 1374 (Hermione and Tisamenus), 2.18.5, 7.6.2, 3.2.1, Apollod. *Ep.* 6.28, Str. 13.13 (582) (Erigone and Penthilus); [kills a close relative]: Aesch. *Cho.* and *Eum. passim*, Apollod. *Ep.* 6.25, Paus. 1.22.6, etc. (mother); [establishes a rite]: Paus. 7.25.4, cf. Suda s.v. Χόες (chi,369 and 370).

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